

Toland, John,

Nazarenus: or Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan Christianity

London 1718

Polem. 2713

urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10776878-7

NAZARENS:

O R,

Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan

CHRISTIANITY.

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The history of the antient GOSPEL OF BARNABAS,
and the modern GOSPEL OF THE MAHOME-
TANS, attributed to the same APOSTLE: this last
GOSPEL being now first made known among
CHRISTIANS.

A L S O,

The ORIGINAL PLAN OF CHRISTIANITY
occasionally explain'd in the history of the NAZA-
RENS, wherby diverse CONTROVERSIES about
this divine (but highly perverted) INSTITUTION
may be happily terminated.

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The relation of an IRISH MANUSCRIPT of the
FOUR GOSPELS, as likewise a Summary of the
antient IRISH CHRISTIANITY, and the reality
of the KELDEES (an order of Lay-religious) against
the two last Bishops of Worcester.

By Mr. TOLAND. Mr. M.

Intacta & Nova? graves Offensae, levis Gratia.

Plin. lib. 5. Epist. 8.

Ast ego Coelicolis gratum reor ire per omnes

Hoc opus, & Sacras populis notescere Leges. *Scatter*

Lucan. lib. 10. ver. 197.

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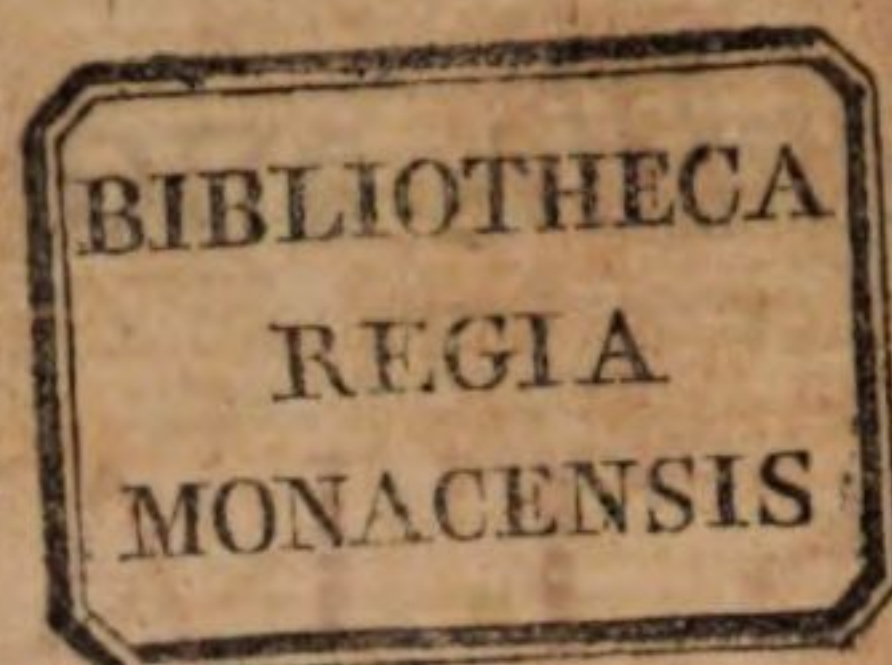
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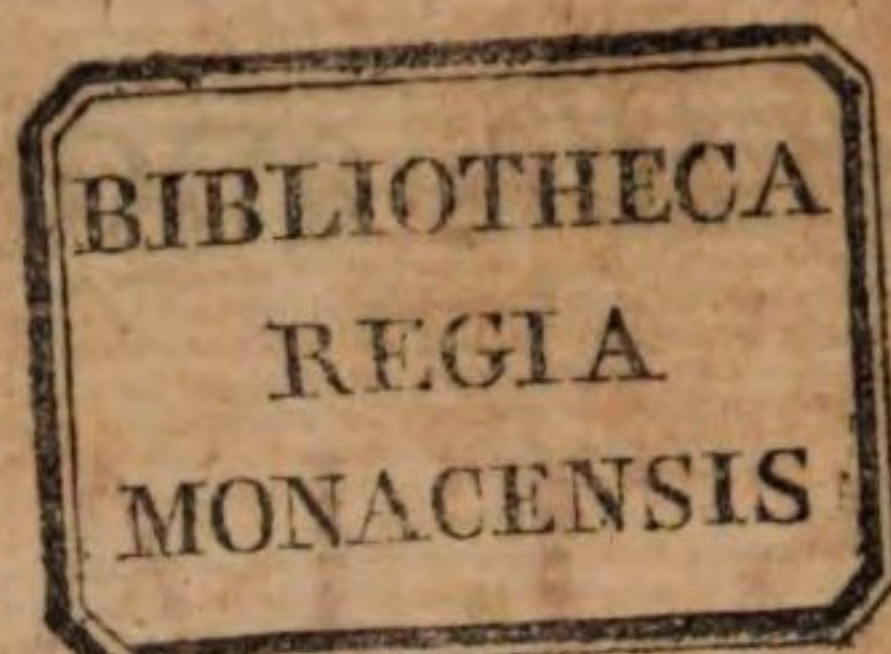
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They are, for the most part, easily distinguish'd: tho, thro some men's management, even Truth does often wear the badges of Falshood. I have in the first chapter so farr declar'd the Contents of the first Letter, as to render any other Preface (I once thought) entirely unnecessary, at least a very long one. But the better nevertheless to prepare you for the reading of it, as also of the second Letter, especially since they are both swell'd beyond their original bulk; and that you may not possibly ly under any mistake by that too short Introduction, I shall reduce the sum of what you are to expect to the following heads: not thinking it needful to indicate every particular, no nor every general subject, in a work of so moderate a size.

I. *IN the first place you'll find the succinct history of a NEW GOSPEL, which I discover'd at Amsterdam, in the year 1709. It is a Mahometan Gospel, never before publicly made known among Christians, tho they have much talkt about the Mahometan's acknowledging the Gospel. I strait sent an account of this discovery to his most serene Highness, the ever victorious PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY, to whom I had the honor of writing sometimes, by the way of his Adjutant General the Baron de HOHENDORF, who comes behind very few in the knowledge of all curious and useful books: and tis really surprizeing how much the Prince himself has read, how minutely, how critically, in how many languages; considering his perpetual series of action as well in the Court as in the Camp. He's now master of this book, as may be seen in the Appendix. But our Turkish Gospel being father'd upon BARNABAS, and all Christians agreeing that MAHOMET acknowledg'd the Gospel; I have shown by unexceptionable authorities, that Ecclesiastical writers did antiently attribute a Gospel to BARNABAS,*

NABAS, whether there be any remains of it in this new-found Gospel, or not: and therefore upon this occasion I have given a clearer account, than is commonly to be met, of the Mahometan sentiments with relation to **JESUS** and the Gospel; insomuch that it is not (I believe) without sufficient ground, that I have represented them as a sort of Christians, and not the worst sort neither, tho farr from being the best.

II. BUT happening to spend that summer in the delicious gardens of Honslaerdyke (a palace formerly belonging to King **WILLIAM** of immortal memory) from which I cou'd easily make an excursion to Leyden, upon any occasion of consulting the public Library, I was naturally led by the Gospel of **BAR-NABAS** to resume some former considerations I had about the **NAZARENS**; as being the Primitive Christians most properly so call'd, and the onely Christians for some time. Their History I have here set in a truer light than other writers, who are generally full of confusion and misrepresentation concerning them; making them the first, if not the worst, of all Heretics: nor did they want their mistakes, to be sure, any more than the Apostles themselves, who were often reprehended by their master and by one another. One of their mistakes, in common with the Apostles for some time, was a gross and worldly notion of the person and spiritual kingdom of **CHRIST**; which, with some opinions falsely imputed to them, and others as falsely held by them, are not the immediate subject of their History (these requiring too nice a discussion for this place) but tis the very groundwork of the Christian Economy, of which I shall presently give you the detail. I was long before directed to my materials by the celebrated **FREDERIC SPANHEMIUS**, when I study'd Ecclesiastical History under him at Leyden, tho I differ

widely from my master in this point. But the Bible and the Fathers, the Hebrew and the Grec Originals, being what he ever exhorted his disciples to consult as their fountains, without giving up their judgements to any thing short of truth; I have follow'd his excellent advice to the best of my power, and tis for the able and equitable readers to decide, how I have profited by it. They who have read the same history and languages in the same Class with me, have not (that I can see) receiv'd any such change of organs or understanding from any of the Professions they have since espous'd, as to capacitate them for comprehending these things better than one without any Profession: and therefore the more likely to be freer from prejudices, as he has more leisure maturely to consider; neither being ty'd down by Articles upon Oath, too frequently productive of perjury, nor cramp'd by any other partial or politic restraint. But such reflections not being always so justly made as they ought to be, men of candor will accurately judge of the things themselves, without regarding whether he be a Clergyman or a Layman that delivers them.

III. FROM the history of the NAZARENS, and more particularly from the evident words of Scripture, I inferr in this discourse a distinction of two sorts of Christians, viz. those from among the Jews, and those from among the Gentiles: not onely that in fact there was such a distinction (which no body denies) but likewise that of right it ought to have been so (which every body denies) and that it was so design'd in THE ORIGINAL PLAN OF CHRISTIANITY. I mean that the Jews, tho associating with the converted Gentiles, and acknowledging them for brethren, were still to observe their own Law thro-out all generations; and that the Gentiles, who became so farr Jews
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as to acknowledge **ONE GOD**, were not however to observe the Jewish Law: but that both of them were to be for ever after united into one body or fellowship, and in that part of Christianity particularly, which, better than all the preparative purgations of the Philosophers, requires the sanctification of the spirit, or the renovation of the inward man; and wherein alone the Jew and the Gentile, the Civiliz'd and the Barbarian, the Freeman and the Bondslave, are all one in **CHRIST**, however otherwise differing in their circumstances. In comparison of the New Creature, Circumcision and Uncircumcision are as nothing: which yet no more takes away the distinction of Jewish and Gentile Christians, than the distinction of sexes; since it is likewise said in the same sense, and in the same place, that in **CHRIST** there is neither Male nor Female. *Rom. x. 12. Gal. iii. 28. Col. iii. 11.*

This fellowship in Piety and Virtue is the Mystery that **PAUL** rightly says was hid from all other ages, till the manifestation of it by **JESUS**; and this Union without Uniformity, between Jew and Gentile, is the admirable Economy of the Gospel. Now, this Gospel consists not in words but in virtue; tis inward and spiritual, abstracted from all formal and outward performances: for the most exact observation of externals, may be without one grain of religion. All this is mechanically done by the help of a little book-craft, whereas true religion is inward life and spirit. So that something else besides the Legal Ordinances, most of 'em political, was necessary to render a Jew religious: even that **FAITH**, which is an internal participation of the divine nature, irradiating the soul; and externally appearing in beneficence, justice, sanctity, and those other virtues by which we resemble God, who is himself all Goodness. But the Jews generally mistook the means for the end: as others, who better understood the end, wou'd not onely absurdly take away the means; but even

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those other civil and national rites which were to continue always in the Jewish Republic (as I particularly prove) thus confounding political with religious performances. From this doctrine it follows (its true) that J E S U S did not take away or cancel the J E W I S H L A W in any sense whatsoever, Sacrifices only excepted; but neither does this affect any of the Gentile Christians now in the world, who have nothing at all to do with that Law. It follows indeed that the J E W S, whether becoming C H R I S T I A N S or not, are for ever bound to the L A W O F M O S E S, as now limited: and he that thinks they were absolv'd from the observation of it by J E S U S, or that tis a fault in them still to adhere to it, does err not knowing the Scriptures; as did most of the converts from the Gentiles, who gave their bare names to C H R I S T, but reserv'd their Idolatrous hearts for their native superstitions. These did almost wholly subvert the T R U E C H R I S T I A N I T Y, which in the following Treatise I vindicate; drawing it out from under the rubbish of their endless divisions, and clearing it from the almost impenetrable mists of their sophistry. So inveterate was their hatred of the Jews (tho indebted to them for the Gospel) that their observing of any thing, however reasonable or necessary, was a sufficient motive for these Gentile converts to reject it. They wou'd neither fast nor pray at the same time with them, where they could possibly avoid it. They had no other reason for changing the time of Easter, to the dividing and distracting of all Christian Churches; but that they might have nothing in common with the Jews, as being so expressly commanded by C O N S T A N T I N E the great, which we are told by E U S E B I U S in the 17th chapter of the 4th book of that Emperor's Life. And all Christians are enjoin'd by the 11th Canon of the 6th General Council (in Trullo) to have no familiarity or commerce with the Jews, not to call for their assistance when sick, nei-
ther

ther to receive any physic from them, nor to wash in the same bath with them. I do here teach a very different doctrine, more consonant (I am persuaded) to the mind of CHRIST and his Apostles, as tis more agreeable to the Law of nature and the dictates of Humanity. As for what I think of Christianity in general, contrary to the malicious suggestions of wicked men (whose Godliness is Gain) I referr you to the perpetual tenor of this present book. Yet they are in the right of it, if they mean that I disbelieve their sort of Christianity; which no good man can approve in practice, no more than any wise man can understand in theory. Tis Paganism or Policy, but not Christianity or Humanity. This will be evident from the account I give of CHRISTIANITY in general in the first Letter, and after a more particular manner in the second Letter.

IV. *VARIOUS* difficulties, and such as have hitherto exercis'd many Pens to no purpose, or to the bad purpose of needlessly divideing mankind, are readily solv'd by this healing and uniteing SCHEME; not that I have arbitrarily contriv'd it, tho for so good an end, as several Systems have upon other occasions been merely coin'd for accommodation: but I maintain it, because I judge it to be most right and true, the genuin primary Christianity; and therefore produceing the promis'd effects of the Gospel, **GLO-** Luc. ii. 14.
RY TO GOD ON HIGH, PEACE ON EARTH, GOOD-WILL TOWARDS MEN. Among those seemingly insoluble difficulties clear'd by it, is that of eating blood, and things strangl'd, and things dead of themselves; which I have brought (I fancy) to be no longer a subject of doubt or scruple to any one. I have moreover prov'd, that the distinction of Jewish and Gentile Christians, and this distinction onely, reconciles **PETER** and **PAUL** about Circumcision and the other Legal Ceremonies, as it does **PAUL** and **JAMES** about Justification by Faith
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or by Works; it makes the Gospels to agree with the Acts and the Epistles, and the Epistles with the Acts and one another: but, what is more than all, it shows a perfect accord between the Old Testament and the New; and proves that God did not give two Laws, wherof the one was to cancel the other, which is no small stumbling block to the opposers of Christianity, as the resolving of this difficulty is no sign, I hope, of my want of Religion. Many are the salutary fruits I foresee from the obtaining of this SCHEME in the world, and but one sad consequence; I mean the turning to waste paper an infinite number of volums, particularly on Justification in the modern sense, on the several meanings of the Law (a thing, by the way, inconsistent with all Law) on the calling of the Jews to quit the Religion they receiv'd from MOSES, and the utter exploding of those forc'd or unintelligible Allegories, which have no manner of foundation in the Scriptures; but are the precarious inventions of fanciful or worse men, fit only to puzzle the curious, to amuze the indifferent, and to distract the ignorant. One main objection against Cartesianism in its infancy, was, that a great many booksellers wou'd be undone, and cart-loads of books become useless in Libraries, shou'd this pernicious sect prevail. But they need not be alarm'd.

V. I SHALL mention here no other difficulty remov'd by the SCHEME I espouse, but onely two more, which I have barely toucht as I go along: for the master-key being once found, tis easy opening all the doors. The first of these regards the controversy about the Seventh day, or Saturday-Sabbath; and the second, that of anointing sick persons: points which some of late have labor'd to introduce, and which I have no less clearly than briefly terminated. I might have instanc'd several others, cou'd the circumstances of my writeing this

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DISSERTATION have admitted it: nor am I willing to enlarge it at present so very much beyond its primitive size, tho several things I have occasionally added, amounting at least to a third part of the whole. Whatever may be the reception of this piece at the beginning, I doubt not but after a while the most judicious and moderate will approve of those *Explications*, which appear to be the most singular in it: for this is not the first time I have known them, who were the forwardest to write against me, afterwards to fall in themselves with the same sentiments; which has not past unobserv'd by the public, especially with regard to certain late compounders for *MYSTERY*. Yet I might hazard to prophesy, that some of these same gentlemen may now be among the foremost to contest my explications; merely because they are mine, or rather because they are not originally theirs: as others will oppose them, because contrary to some of the receiv'd opinions, or not precisely suting with their interest. I onely desire that in doing this they wou'd deal cautiously, and not commit such mistakes, as *Dr. BLACKHALL* did formerly, expos'd in *Amyntor*. I made no objections then, nor do I make any now, to invalidate or destroy, but in order to illustrate and confirm the Canon of the New Testament; wherof I have written the History in two parts, to be publish'd in convenient time. And as for my being so particular in relating, what the Nazarens or Ebionites objected against *PAUL*, besides that my subject manifestly requir'd it; tis likewise as manifest that it was to show their mistakes, which I have done, and that they had unjustly charg'd him with abolishing the Law. Let others make his *Apolo*gy better if they can.

VI. *THIS* much I had to say to you, Sir, in relation to the first Letter of the book you are to see printed. But, as to the second Letter, be pleas'd
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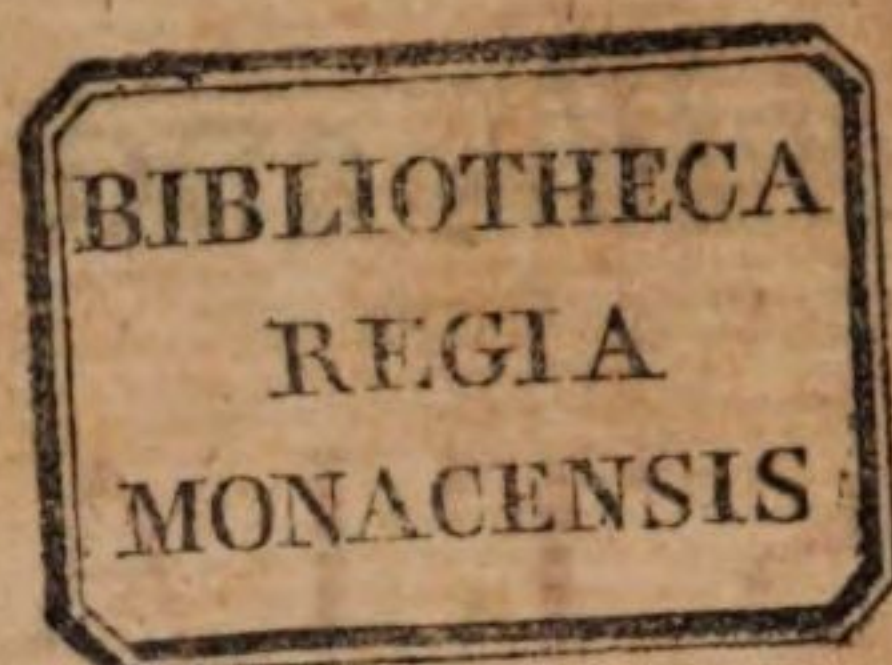
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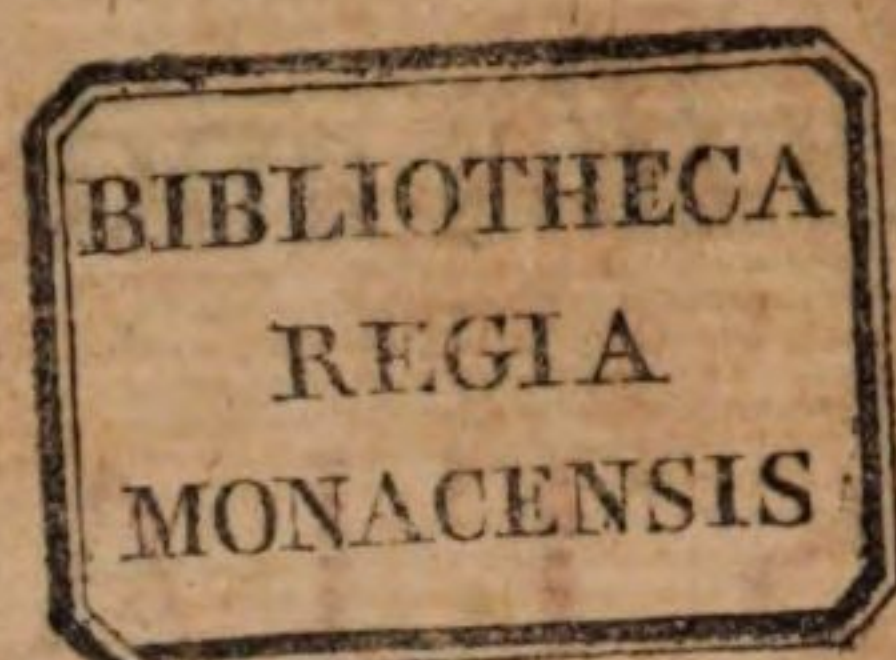
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S I R,



SINCE you are determin'd to continue in town this whole Winter, and that I know none of my friends to be a nicer judge of exact Printing, I must beg the favor of you, to convey (during my necessary absence, for some time, in the country) the inclos'd *DISSERTATION*

to the Press, and to see it every way correctly finish'd: tho I hope to be with you again, before you have half done. But tis good to provide against all chances. I design to publish it next spring, for the same reason that all books are or ought to be publish'd: namely, that I may inform others of what I know, which in many things I apprehend to be my duty; or that, if misinform'd, I may be set right by those, who show themselves rather lovers of Truth than of Contention.

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They are, for the most part, easily distinguish'd: tho, thro some men's management, even Truth does often wear the badges of Falshood. I have in the first chapter so farr declar'd the Contents of the first Letter, as to render any other Preface (I once thought) entirely unnecessary, at least a very long one. But the better nevertheless to prepare you for the reading of it, as also of the second Letter, especially since they are both swell'd beyond their original bulk; and that you may not possibly ly under any mistake by that too short Introduction, I shall reduce the sum of what you are to expect to the following heads: not thinking it needful to indicate every particular, no nor every general subject, in a work of so moderate a size.

I. IN the first place you'll find the succinct history of a NEW GOSPEL, which I discover'd at Amsterdam, in the year 1709. It is a Mahometan Gospel, never before publicly made known among Christians, tho they have much talkt about the Mahometan's acknowledging the Gospel. I strait sent an account of this discovery to his most serene Highness, the ever victorious PRINCE EUGENE OF SAVOY, to whom I had the honor of writing sometimes, by the way of his Adjutant General the Baron de HOHENDORF, who comes behind very few in the knowledge of all curious and useful books: and tis really surprizeing how much the Prince himself has read, how minutely, how critically, in how many languages; considering his perpetual series of action as well in the Court as in the Camp. He's now master of this book, as may be seen in the Appendix. But our Turkish Gospel being father'd upon BARNABAS, and all Christians agreeing that MAHOMET acknowledg'd the Gospel; I have shown by unexceptionable authorities, that Ecclesiastical writers did antiently attribute a Gospel to BARNABAS,

NABAS, whether there be any remains of it in this new-found Gospel, or not: and therefore upon this occasion I have given a clearer account, than is commonly to be met, of the Mahometan sentiments with relation to JESUS and the Gospel; insomuch that it is not (I believe) without sufficient ground, that I have represented them as a sort of Christians, and not the worst sort neither, tho farr from being the best.

II. BUT happening to spend that summer in the delicious gardens of Honslaerdyke (a palace formerly belonging to King WILLIAM of immortal memory) from which I cou'd easily make an excursion to Leyden, upon any occasion of consulting the public Library, I was naturally led by the Gospel of BAR-NABAS to resume some former considerations I had about the NAZARENS; as being the Primitive Christians most properly so call'd, and the onely Christians for some time. Their History I have here set in a truer light than other writers, who are generally full of confusion and misrepresentation concerning them; making them the first, if not the worst, of all Heretics: nor did they want their mistakes, to be sure, any more than the Apostles themselves, who were often reprehended by their master and by one another. One of their mistakes, in common with the Apostles for some time, was a gross and worldly notion of the person and spiritual kingdom of CHRIST; which, with some opinions falsely imputed to them, and others as falsely held by them, are not the immediate subject of their History (these requiring too nice a discussion for this place) but tis the very groundwork of the Christian Economy, of which I shall presently give you the detail. I was long before directed to my materials by the celebrated FREDERIC SPANHEMIUS, when I study'd Ecclesiastical History under him at Leyden, tho I differ

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widely from my master in this point. But the Bible and the Fathers, the Hebrew and the Grec Originals, being what he ever exhorted his disciples to consult as their fountains, without giving up their judgements to any thing short of truth; I have follow'd his excellent advice to the best of my power, and tis for the able and equitable readers to decide, how I have profited by it. They who have read the same history and languages in the same Class with me, have not (that I can see) receiv'd any such change of organs or understanding from any of the Professions they have since espous'd, as to capacitate them for comprehending these things better than one without any Profession: and therefore the more likely to be freer from prejudices, as he has more leisure maturely to consider; neither being ty'd down by Articles upon Oath, too frequently productive of perjury, nor cramp'd by any other partial or politic restraint. But such reflections not being always so justly made as they ought to be, men of candor will accurately judge of the things themselves, without regarding whether he be a Clergyman or a Layman that delivers them.

III. FROM the history of the NAZARENS, and more particularly from the evident words of Scripture, I inferr in this discourse a distinction of two sorts of Christians, viz. those from among the Jews, and those from among the Gentiles: not onely that in fact there was such a distinction (which no body denies) but likewise that of right it ought to have been so (which every body denies) and that it was so design'd in THE ORIGINAL PLAN OF CHRISTIANITY. I mean that the Jews, tho associating with the converted Gentiles, and acknowledging them for brethren, were still to observe their own Law thro-out all generations; and that the Gentiles, who became so farr Jews

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P R E F A C E.

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as to acknowledge **ONE GOD**, were not however to observe the Jewish Law: but that both of them were to be for ever after united into one body or fellowship, and in that part of Christianity particularly, which, better than all the preparative purgations of the Philosophers, requires the sanctification of the spirit, or the renovation of the inward man; and wherein alone the Jew and the Gentile, the Civiliz'd and the Barbarian, the Freeman and the Bondslave, are all one in **CHRIST**, however otherwise differing in their circumstances. In comparison of the New Creature, Circumcision and Uncircumcision are as nothing: which yet no more takes away the distinction of Jewish and Gentile Christians, than the distinction of sexes; since it is likewise said in the same sense, and in the same place, that in **CHRIST** there is neither Male nor Female. This fellowship in Piety and Virtue is the Mystery that **PAUL** rightly says was hid from all other ages, till the manifestation of it by **JESUS**; and this Union without Uniformity, between Jew and Gentile, is the admirable Economy of the Gospel. Now, this Gospel consists not in words but in virtue; tis inward and spiritual, abstracted from all formal and outward performances: for the most exact observation of externals, may be without one grain of religion. All this is mechanically done by the help of a little book-craft, whereas true religion is inward life and spirit. So that something else besides the Legal Ordinances, most of 'em political, was necessary to render a Jew religious: even that **FAITH**, which is an internal participation of the divine nature, irradiating the soul; and externally appearing in beneficence, justice, sanctity, and those other virtues by which we resemble God, who is himself all Goodness. But the Jews generally mistook the means for the end: as others, who better understood the end, wou'd not onely absurdly take away the means; but even

Rom. x. 12.
Gal. iii. 28.
Col. iii. 11.

Gal. iii. 28.

Rom. xvi.
25. Ephes.
i. 9, 10. &
iii. 3, 5, 6, 9.
Col. i. 26,
27.

those other civil and national rites which were to continue always in the Jewish Republic (as I particularly prove) thus confounding political with religious performances. From this doctrine it follows (its true) that J E S U S did not take away or cancel the J E W I S H L A W in any sense whatsoever, Sacrifices only excepted; but neither does this affect any of the Gentile Christians now in the world, who have nothing at all to do with that Law. It follows indeed that the J E W S, whether becoming C H R I S T I A N S or not, are for ever bound to the L A W O F M O S E S, as now limited: and he that thinks they were absolv'd from the observation of it by J E S U S, or that tis a fault in them still to adhere to it, does err not knowing the Scriptures; as did most of the converts from the Gentiles, who gave their bare names to C H R I S T, but reserv'd their Idolatrous hearts for their native superstitions. These did almost wholly subvert the T R U E C H R I S T I A N I T Y, which in the following Treatise I vindicate; drawing it out from under the rubbish of their endless divisions, and clearing it from the almost impenetrable mists of their sophistry. So inveterate was their hatred of the Jews (tho indebted to them for the Gospel) that their observing of any thing, however reasonable or necessary, was a sufficient motive for these Gentile converts to reject it. They wou'd neither fast nor pray at the same time with them, where they could possibly avoid it. They had no other reason for changing the time of Easter, to the dividing and distracting of all Christian Churches; but that they might have nothing in common with the Jews, as being so expressly commanded by C O N S T A N T I N E the great, which we are told by E U S E B I U S in the 17th chapter of the 4th book of that Emperor's Life. And all Christians are enjoin'd by the 11th Canon of the 6th General Council (in Trullo) to have no familiarity or commerce with the Jews, not to call for their assistance when sick, nei-
ther

ther to receive any physic from them, nor to wash in the same bath with them. I do here teach a very different doctrine, more consonant (I am persuaded) to the mind of CHRIST and his Apostles, as tis more agreeable to the Law of nature and the dictates of Humanity. As for what I think of Christianity in general, contrary to the malicious suggestions of wicked men (whose Godliness is Gain) I referr you to the perpetual tenor of this present book. Yet they are in the right of it, if they mean that I disbelieve their sort of Christianity; which no good man can approve in practice, no more than any wise man can understand in theory. Tis Paganism or Policy, but not Christianity or Humanity. This will be evident from the account I give of CHRISTIANITY in general in the first Letter, and after a more particular manner in the second Letter.

IV. *VARIOUS* difficulties, and such as have hitherto exercis'd many Pens to no purpose, or to the bad purpose of needlessly divideing mankind, are readily solv'd by this healing and uniteing SCHEME; not that I have arbitrarily contriv'd it, tho for so good an end, as several Systems have upon other occasions been merely coin'd for accommodation: but I maintain it, because I judge it to be most right and true, the genuin primary Christianity; and therefore produceing the promis'd effects of the Gospel, **GLO-** Luc. ii. 14.
RY TO GOD ON HIGH, PEACE ON EARTH,
GOOD-WILL TOWARDS MEN. Among those seemingly insoluble difficulties clear'd by it, is that of eating blood, and things strangl'd, and things dead of themselves; which I have brought (I fancy) to be no longer a subject of doubt or scruple to any one. I have moreover prov'd, that the distinction of Jewish and Gentile Christians, and this distinction onely, reconciles **PETER** and **PAUL** about Circumcision and the other Legal Ceremonies, as it does **PAUL** and **JAMES** about Justification by Faith
 or

or by *Works*; it makes the Gospels to agree with the Acts and the Epistles, and the Epistles with the Acts and one another: but, what is more than all, it shows a perfect accord between the Old Testament and the New; and proves that God did not give two Laws, wherof the one was to cancel the other, which is no small stumbling block to the opposers of Christianity, as the resolving of this difficulty is no sign, I hope, of my want of Religion. Many are the salutary fruits I foresee from the obtaining of this *SCHEME* in the world, and but one sad consequence; I mean the turning to waste paper an infinite number of volums, particularly on Justification in the modern sense, on the several meanings of the Law (a thing, by the way, inconsistent with all Law) on the calling of the Jews to quit the Religion they receiv'd from *MOSES*, and the utter exploding of those forc'd or unintelligible Allegories, which have no manner of foundation in the Scriptures; but are the precarious inventions of fanciful or worse men, fit only to puzzle the curious, to amuze the indifferent, and to distract the ignorant. One main objection against Cartesianism in its infancy, was, that a great many booksellers wou'd be undone, and cart-loads of books become useless in Libraries, shou'd this pernicious sect prevail. But they need not be alarm'd.

V. I SHALL mention here no other difficulty remov'd by the *SCHEME* I espouse, but onely two more, which I have barely toucht as I go along: for the master-key being once found, tis easy opening all the doors. The first of these regards the controversy about the Seventh day, or Saturday-Sabbath; and the second, that of anointing sick persons: points which some of late have labor'd to introduce, and which I have no less clearly than briefly terminated. I might have instanc'd several others, cou'd the circumstances of my writeing this

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DISSERTATION have admitted it: nor am I willing to enlarge it at present so very much beyond its primitive size, tho several things I have occasionally added, amounting at least to a third part of the whole. Whatever may be the reception of this piece at the beginning, I doubt not but after a while the most judicious and moderate will approve of those *Explications*, which appear to be the most singular in it: for this is not the first time I have known them, who were the forwardest to write against me, afterwards to fall in themselves with the same sentiments; which has not past unobserv'd by the public, especially with regard to certain late compounders for *MYSTERY*. Yet I might hazard to prophesy, that some of these same gentlemen may now be among the foremost to contest my explications; merely because they are mine, or rather because they are not originally theirs: as others will oppose them, because contrary to some of the receiv'd opinions, or not precisely suting with their interest. I onely desire that in doing this they wou'd deal cautiously, and not commit such mistakes, as *Dr. BLACKHALL* did formerly, expos'd in *Amyntor*. I made no objections then, nor do I make any now, to invalidate or destroy, but in order to illustrate and confirm the Canon of the New Testament; wherof I have written the History in two parts, to be publish'd in convenient time. And as for my being so particular in relating, what the Nazarens or Ebionites objected against *PAUL*, besides that my subject manifestly requir'd it; tis likewise as manifest that it was to show their mistakes, which I have done, and that they had unjustly charg'd him with abolishing the Law. Let others make his *Apolo*gy better if they can.

VI. *THIS* much I had to say to you, Sir, in relation to the first Letter of the book you are to see printed. But, as to the second Letter, be pleas'd
to

to understand, that in the beginning of the same year 1709, I discover'd at the Hague a manuscript of the four Gospels (then lately brought from France) all written in Irish characters, which were mistaken for Anglofaxon, but yet the whole text in the Latin tongue. Some little thing in Irish it self is here and there mixt among the NOTES, which are very numerous, and other passages in the Irish language occur also elsewhere. Of what age or importance this book may be, and what Father SIMON has said about it, with my censure of him; you'll find so particularly discuss'd in their due place, that I need say no more of these things here. However, besides doing justice on this occasion to the Learning and flourishing Schools of the ANTIENT IRISH, while the rest of Europe continu'd distracted by warrs and overshadow'd with ignorance; I have set in its true light, beyond what most others had an opportunity of doing, the Christianity originally profess'd in that nation (wherof I have given a distinct SUMMARRY in 17 paragraphs) and which appears to be extremely different from the religion of the present Irish. I mean the posterity of the aboriginal Proprietors, to whom, as my countrymen and fellow-subjects, I do most earnestly recommend the impartial consideration of this matter. If they are fond of antiquity, this Religion is much ancients than the Popery which most of 'em now profess: it haveing been the peculiar honor of Ireland, as they'll find in perusing this Letter, to have asserted their Independency more strenuously against the usurpations of Rome, and to have preserv'd their Faith unpolluted against the corruptions of it longer, than any other nation. But truth being what people ought to value more than either country or kindred, as I have not been wanting to commend whatever I thought deserving; so I have never palliated what I judge blame-worthy in Ireland, no more than in any other country: nor have

have I any where exceded the reverend Dr. PRI-
DEAUX's expressions, who (in the 241st page of the
first part of the 2^d volume of his excellent perfor-
mance, The Old and New Testament con-
nected) says, that, in the ages I mention, Ireland
was the prime seat of Learning in all Christen-
dom. What he has said I have prov'd, and this
from authors unexceptionable, many of 'em contem-
poraries, and none of 'em Irish. I shall dispatch
with the APPENDIX, which consists of three
small pieces. The two PROBLEMS (wherof
the first piece consists) are preparatory to a Treatise
concerning the REPUBLIC OF MOSES, a-
bout which few men have hitherto written common
sense: not excepting SIGONIUS, or CUNEUS,
or even HARRINGTON the author of Oceana;
who, tho the best of 'em, is yet very defective, and in
many things erroneous. Next follows an account of the
TURKISH GOSPEL by Monsieur DE LA
MONNOYE (to whom the Baron DE HOHEN-
DORF shew'd it, after the owner had parted with
it to PRINCE EUGENE) and which I have ad-
ded, as a further illustration of the book; and withall
as a confirmation of my own description of it, which
I am persuaded the Baron did not show to that inge-
nious Academician. Lastly, come certain QUE-
RIES I drew up for my private satisfaction, and
that of some others; haveing already sent diverse
copies of them to Asia and Africa, as well as to
Greece.

VII. IN the marginal NOTES I have com-
monly exprest my self in Latin, the obvousest lan-
guage on such occasions: besides that it is intelligible
to all who are conversant with such passages, and a-
bout which others must rely on the skill of those they
can trust. But my text is plain and perspicuous e-
nough, even to the meanest capacity; haveing, after
the

the great example of the antients, interwoven those passages into my own discourse in a continu'd thread: and not onely being of opinion that the simplest Stile (not incompatible with the politest) is in teaching the best; but that every man, who clearly conceives any subject, may as clearly express it. Witty conceits and harmonious florishes are for another-guess sort of writing: but obscurity is to be avoided in all sorts, and nothing to be affected but not to be misunderstood; if too great a care of being intelligible, can be reckon'd affectation. In the Greec NOTES at the foot of the page, I shou'd have avoided ligatures and contractions, which are no more useful in this Tongue than in the Latin; or rather they are still as troublesome and deform'd in the one, as they were once in the other. I admire therefore that WETSTEIN's example is not more follow'd by other printers. For the same reason the Greec is printed without Accents, which are a useless, perplexing, and no very ancient invention, on the foot they now stand. But let it be specially remember'd, with regard to all citations of Authors, that I give them onely for what they are; haveing always had recourse to the Originals, whether quoted by others or not, except where I hint the contrary for want of such Originals, and neither wilfully curtailing, garbling, or misrepresenting any of them: produceing Fathers as Fathers, Heretics as Heretics, Antients and Moderns for just such; and therefore not answerable for any thing they say, unless where I expresly approve it, as I may probably disapprove them on other accounts. I answer in others for no more than what I say with them, which is nothing the worse for what they may elsewhere say against it. Their judgement of things cannot alter the nature of them. I allow all of 'em to be judges of the opinions of their own times as to fact (if they be any thing fair or accurate) but not always to reason for me, much less implicitly to lead me.

me. The PASSAGES OF SCRIPTURE I hope will be read at length, in the few places where I have not quoted them so, particularly those in the beginning of the twelfth chapter: and I have taken care in general not to overburthen the reader with citations of any sort, contenting my self to prove or illustrate my allegations by no more authorities than are necessary; tho I often abound with others, which I judge needless, or reserve against Answerers.

VIII. *THESE Answerers naturally put me in mind of Cavillers, whom I wou'd not have to run away with a notion, as if I thought FAITH did every where signify the Christian Institution; because, in the 16th chapter of the first Dissertation, I say it does so whenever oppos'd to the Works of the Law: or as if I maintain'd WORKS did every where signify the Levitical Rites, because I say they do so, whenever oppos'd to Faith. The various meanings of these words are obvious to every reader, as Faith (for example) in the 6th verse of the 1st chapter of JAMES, signifies a full persuasion: but in the 1st and 5th verses of the second chapter, it signifies the whole Christian belief. So does it in the 14th verse of the same chapter, as Works there betoken the Levitical Rites: and the instance of Charity in the 15th and 16th verses is plainly a simile, of what is inforc'd in the 17th verse. The examples of ABRAHAM and RAHAB in the 21st, 22d, 23d, 24th, and 25th verses, show that works here betoken the positive, not the moral Law. For Christianity is by the same Apostle, in the 21st verse of the 1st chapter, most properly stil'd the engrafted word able to save their souls, engrafted I say on the Law of MOSES, not sanctifying the inward man; yet for most wise reasons to be perpetually observ'd by the Jews, and wherof Christianity is the spirit: for as the body without the breath is dead, so Faith without Works is dead also; yea and by*

Works

Jam. ii. 26.

Ibid. v. 24. Works a man is justify'd, and not by Faith onely. This is literally true of the Jews, and had LUTHER understood this distinction, he wou'd never have rejected (which he once did) the Epistle of JAMES as stramineous and contrary to the doctrine of PAUL: which stands upon the same foot with that of JAMES, as in our first Dissertation one running may read.

John i. 17. The LAW was given by MOSES, but GRACE and TRUTH came by JESUS, who has confirm'd that Law. I hope no small advantage will accrue to Christianity from the system advanc'd in the said 16th and 17th chapters of this Dissertation; in which, as well as by the SUMMARY OF CHRISTIANITY contain'd in the second Dissertation, tho not onely the reality, but (as I am reasonably to hope) the soundness of my Religion sufficiently appears: yet seeing learned disquisitions are not for every body's taste or capacity, however grateful to the curious, and necessary for the proof of things; I shall hereafter (God willing) give a more distinct account of my Religion, stript of all literature, and laid down in naked theorems, without notes of any kind. I promise you (Sir) before-hand, that it will not be a mechanical and artificial Religion, consisting more in a stupid respect for receiv'd forms, and a lifeless round of performances by rote, than in a reasonable worship or unaffected piety. There will be more objects of practice than of belief in it; and nothing practis'd but what makes a man the better, nor any thing believ'd but what necessarily leads to practice and knowledge: yet nothing that does not concern people to know, or that they cannot possibly know at all. It will contain nothing fabulous or mysterious, nothing hypocritical or austere; nothing to divert people from their employments, or tending to beget idleness and licentiousness: nothing, in short, that contributes to enslave their minds or bodies, nothing to serve the purposes of Princes or Priests against the interest of mankind. This you'll say, after what I have already

ly perform'd in the following book, seems to be superfluous: but, by that time the year comes round, you'll find reason for your self to change your mind, and for me to publish that System of Religion.

FREQUENT complaints are deservedly made about the want of *PIETY*, wherof the cause nevertheless is known but to very few: for the little effect of Religion proceeds in most places from the too great influence of the *CLERGY*, who make that to pass for Religion which is none, or quite the reverse, as they make Piety often inconsistent with Probity; and this they do to serve their own private ends, which in such places are ever opposite to the public good of the people. But let it be always understood, that I mean corrupt and interested *PRIESTS*, the bitterest enemies to good *MINISTERS*, for whom I both have, and shall ever retain the highest veneration. The functions and views of the latter I shall specify on another occasion. The practices and pretences of the former are too flagrant to be deny'd. Every day yields fresh instances of the ambitious and traiterous designs of degenerate Clergymen,

Whose lives make Atheists, and whose doctrine Slaves.

The ultimate designs of such men are to procure to themselves Riches, and consequently Power and Authority; as, in order to secure both, they train up their hearers in Ignorance, and consequently in Superstition and Bigotry. Their constant Preaching will be made an objection to this assertion: but constant Preaching is not always effectual Teaching. If the things preach'd be metaphysical riddles, or mythological tales, or mystical dreams; if they are Politics instead of Faith and Repentance, the People are as farr from being taught, as if they heard nothing: but with this difference, that they
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2 Tim. iii.
7.

imagine they know something, while they onely make good the character of ever learning, but never being able to come to the knowlege of the Truth. The most libertine Priests, the most illiterate Mendicants, can easily make what impressions they please upon a People thus previously dispos'd; who believe, when those Empirics are maliciously blackening the lovers of Truth, that they are strenuously asserting the cause of God against the servants of the Devil: and thus they are commonly workt up to become the mortal enemies of such as are pleading their own cause; and who wou'd generously set 'em free, from the bondage of their spiritual Task-masters. They are accustom'd to look upon them no longer with eyes of Humanity, no nor to believe their own senses concerning them; for once they know 'em to differ from their Leaders (whose human Inventions they are taught to be the Oracles of God) they abhorr 'em as the most licentious and abandon'd Libertines, be their lives and conversations ever so irreproachable: not being able to conceive how one, who is not right in his notions, that is, in their notions of things, can be just in his actions; even tho such notions shou'd not relate to practice at all, but end in pure speculation. The GENTRY in some countries know little more than the VULGAR, being industriously molded to their own purposes by the CLERGY, to whose care their Earliest Education is preposterously committed: or if in some other countries they happen to be more discerning, yet out of a sordid principle of Interest, to which they basely sacrifice Truth and Virtue, they affect to be more credulous than the very VULGAR; and this with a view of being recommended to the PRINCE by the CLERGY, who preach up his absolute Power over the People, that their own Authority may become arbitrary both over these and him too. But haveing nothing to apprehend in this last respect (our British Throne being

being happily fill'd with a Prince no less discerning and judicious, than just and magnanimous, and abhorring Tyranny as much as he despises Superstition) I shall, in spite of all discouragements, openly profess the Religion I believe to be most for the instruction and benefit of mankind; for what is not so, can never be true, much less divine. This Religion, I say, I shall fairly deliver: and to the present reward, which the consciousness of doing my duty necessarily brings along with it, I shall add the certain prospect I have, that the few in all ages who are wise and good (which qualities ought to be inseparable) will do justice to a man who dar'd to own his affection to Truth, the beauty wherof had set him above all fears and expectations.

I AM farr from being ignorant of the ARTS, which those corrupt Clergymen wherof I have spoken, and such onely of the Clergy, daily use, to decry their Antagonists; experience as well as observation having abundantly discover'd to me those Mysteries of iniquity, and convinc'd me of this maxim: that all curious Enquiries and useful Discoveries wou'd be for ever stopt, shou'd men put a stop to their Pens for fear of Obloquy, or any other Opposition. The most learned and universally celebrated Mr. LE CLERC has written an entire Dissertation (*Argumentum Theologicum ab Invidia ductum*) to expose the Calumnies of Divines, when other Arguments fail them. Every little Chaplain's transforming himself into the Catholick Church, and making Christianity (forsooth) to suffer by the exploding of his whimsies, ought no more to terrify us from appearing for Truth; than we shou'd be scolded or buffoon'd out of it by others, who write, as if they had the high office of being the Church's Jesters and Merry-Andrews. To speak against any one of these, if you take their own word for it, is to be an enemy to all Clergymen, to disbelieve

the Christian Religion, and not to own the being of a God. Numberless are the wiles and artifices of such mercenary Priests, to puzzle the cause, or to discredit the person of an Adversary; wherof I think

1. it convenient here, to specify the most principal. They are sure, in the first place, to misrepresent the state of the Question, and to make it more or less important than it is, as may best sute their ends; their implicit followers being ever ready to acquiesce in their report of the matter, without once daring to think
2. for themselves. They commonly deliver the Sense of the man, whose book they oppose, in their own words instead of his; under pretence of setting it in a clearer light, when indeed they design to involve and perplex it: or if they produce the words of the Original, they are always disjointed and imperfect; and their observations upon them, for fear their sophistry might be detected, are equivocal, industriously confuse, and obscure. They conceal his chief Reasons and strongest Arguments, loudly insisting at the same time upon Incidents either not essential or foren to the subject; and nibbling at unguarded expressions or inaccuracies of Stile, into which, thro more attention to the matter than to the words, the correctest writers are sometimes apt to fall, especially in a work of
4. any length. Unfairly dropping the main Question, they attribute Designs to their opponent the most remote from his views, and from the evident scope of his whole writeing: judgeing of others by themselves, as if there were a trick at the bottom of every thing men did; and that, upon a proper occasion, they wou'd make no scruple of saying one
5. thing and meaning another. This puts me in mind of another of their main artifices, for so impotent is their malice, that almost in the same breath they make the same man equally stupid and cunning; telling you in this page, that his whole Performance is so insuperably dull and incoherent, as scarce to deserve animadversion: which in

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the next page they contradict themselves, not onely in the oil and sweat they expend to confute him; but in laying his plot so deep for him, and reporting his skill so formidable, as to call for abler hands, nay sometimes for the Magistrate, to take him to task. They draw invidious Consequences from his positions, 6. which either follow not by any Logical deduction, or are disown'd by him as wrested and unforeseen; yet by them popularly imputed to him, as if he had actually intended and maintain'd them. They never 7. fail to accuse him of Innovation, which, if not his greatest merit (as new Reformatations ought to be substituted to old Disorders) yet his greatest crime is many times the reviveing of some obsolete unfashionable Truth, a novelty not to be endur'd by men who live upon error. But what do I talk of Truth? to 8. which they are so little us'd, that they ever charge their Antagonist with not believing what he affirms, and as writeing onely out of Singularity, or vainly to get a Name; not considering with what greater probability it may be retorted upon them, that the sincerity of their own belief is much more justly to be call'd in question, since it is rewarded with Riches, Fame, and Authority: which is the reason, that the real Infidels are (in appearance) the most zealous Professors and Persecutors in all national Churches, ever over-acting their parts; it being visibly absurd, that an Atheist shou'd be a Nonconformist, or that any man who does not care for Truth wou'd suffer for what he does not believe. No, no: such people can bawl Orthodoxy, and never fail going to Church. If the Stile of the man they love not, be chaste and 9. unaffected, stript of the enthusiastic cant of the Fathers, the barbarous jargon of the Schools, and the motly dialect of later Systems, then his Principles are vehemently suspected; and by how much more they are intelligible, judg'd to be by so much the more dangerous. If the dispute be about matters of Fact, 10.

- and that a man produces Authorities no less apt than numerous, this they call a show of Reading, or borrow'd Learning: endeavoring to depreciate what they cannot disprove, and sanctifying their illiberal Scurrility with the name of Zeal: for of all men they are the most bitter and foul-mouth'd against an Adversary; which the Popish Jesuits commend as meritorious, and which the Protestant Jesuits practise as if it were so; meaning by these last, such as act like
11. the first. He must, among other epithets, be branded with the odious denomination of some antient or modern HERESY, which often happens to be onely a nickname for Truth: and, whether he will or no, he's made to agree with those in every thing, with whom he happens to agree in any one thing; as if every Sect did not hold some truth, were it but to
 12. countenance their falsehoods. If neither any nor all these methods can run down his Doctrine, they will next attack his Person, running away with every idle story they can catch, and poorly rakeing into the frailties of his life, tho he shou'd be less obnoxious to censure than the best of his neighbors; and chargeing him even with the actual guilt, of what they pretend to follow from his Notions: never hesitating at the vilest insinuations, to the end some calumny may stick; for, of all men, they have the quickest knack of circulating Scandal. Yet they wou'd do well to assign the time, when a Layman is not to be twitted with the follies of his childhood, or reproach'd with the excesses of his youth (shou'd he be guilty of any) since they will not admit it fair to accuse a Clergyman, of any thing he did before Ordination, or rather before he's Doctor'd or Dignify'd.

THESE are some of the ordinary ARTS of Corrupt Clergymen (of which alone I speak, to say it once for all) and by these marks you shall know them: but by none more than the charge of ATHEISM, which

which, in their passion or malice, they bully out against any person that presumes to contradict them: and, what extremely contributes to the scandal of Religion, and to make Atheists in good earnest, they commonly lay this aspersions on men of the clearest sense and the soberest lives; while they bestow the appellation of GOOD CHURCHMEN on the most ignorant sots and rakes, if they but appear devoted to their persons or their interest. The PRIEST-RIDDEN LAITY imitate more or less these practices of their Clerical Guides, till at last a man becomes an INFIDEL for differing from another about the meanest trifle in nature. It becomes a Spirit that haunts them, and they meet it every where. Of this a notable example is furnisht us by the author of the Builder's Dictionary, who inveighing (in the 5th page of his Proem) against the despisers of Architecture, I must and will tell such men (says he) the plain truth, that they must certainly be INFIDELS, and do not deserve the title of a Jew, and much less of a Christian: for which his weighty reason is, that if they were Jews, they must have been acquainted with the buildings appointed in the Old Testament; and that if they were Christians, they must have read the books of the Jews. But it happens unluckily for him, that Heathens and Infidels have been much better Architects, than either Jews or Christians. He concludes the page by telling us, that CHRIST was pleas'd to exercise this art of Architecture, and to be a Mechanic, even a Carpenter; which I must needs tell you (adds he) is no small honor to the Mechanics and to Architecture: and I must needs tell him, that he might as well conclude a man an Infidel for being merry with his neighbors, or having a house of his own; since we read that JESUS had not a hole wherein to lay his head, and that he wept but never laught that we know. Tis seldom that Divines fix their accusation

tion of *Atheism* more conclusively, which makes it as contemptible as the *Pope's Bulls* at *Constantinople*. Nay *Hell-fire* it self, in their mouths, has lost much of its antient terror; since they assign no less a punishment than eternal damnation, to the rejecting of certain chimerical notions about *Priesthood* and *Schism*, alembick'd out of the *Fathers*: and to the disbelief of certain *Doctrines* of their own coining, which they neither practise nor believe; and therefore ought to pass for counterfeit with all others, such, for example, as *Passive Obedience*, *Indefeasible Hereditary Right*, and the like, whether impiously father'd upon *GOD*, or *MOSES*, or *JESUS*. These however are the stratagems against which I am to guard, against which my Readers, being forewarn'd, ought to be forearm'd; but which piece of justice, owing to themselves as well as to me, I am not to hope they will be all judicious and equitable enough to observe.

WHEREFORE, after all these necessary precautions, I yet expect to be unmercifully pelted by those; who are the least able to confute me, shou'd I happen to be any where in the wrong, as no person on earth is infallible. This answering for answering sake, whether the thing be answerable or not; and the allowing of nothing where any thing is thought fit to be deny'd, is so vulgar and customary a practice, that all wise men do as much despise as they detest it: and, for my own part, I have, without pretending to be one of their number, resolv'd beforehand to receive all that sort of fire unmov'd; and to repel at the same time the attacks of my enemies, tho not with the like stink-pots to those they may throw at me. Of this I gave a specimen in *Amyntor*. The only favor I desire is, that as I wrote my book alone, I may answer alone for it; and that *MEGALETOR* be not made to adopt the contents of all the Letters he receives, no more than of all the Books in his Library.

brary. But being a forener, he's happily out of the reach of their spite. I say as much however on the behalf of my other Friends at home; for it is an artifice peculiar to certain folks, to hook in every one they dislike, to what they first proclaim a crime. Besides, that in other respects, the thing is very unfair: for if the Book be good, the true Author ought not to be rob'd of the praise he deserves; and if it be bad, no others ought to suffer for a fault, they did not commit. Thus (for example) have I my self been, by more than one, no less confidently than falsely reported, to have had a hand in the Discourse of Free-thinking; of which charge, nevertheless, I am quite as clear as themselves. I never club brains, I do assure them. But my Adversaries thought it enough, that I am well acquainted with the writer of that book, who is a very worthy Gentleman and a stanch Englishman. With such I shall ever think it a happiness to be acquainted, let their speculative Sentiments be what they will; for which I am no more bound to be accountable, than they for mine. Otherwise I shou'd have a fine task indeed on my hands, being intimate with Turks and Jews, with Christians of most denominations, with Deists and Sceptics, with men of wit or worth in every nation of Europe, and with some out of it. I wish I were with more so every where. This was the laudable manner of the Antients, this I take to be the way to solid Knowledge, this I am certain is true Humanity: and as I set no value on the judgement of peevish narrow-soul'd Bigots of any kind, by whom no Improvement is to be made, cramping on the contrary all generous Researches; so I am persuaded, that whatever is afraid to trust it self alone abroad, is not able to stand alone at home. A good Cause dares bear the worst that can be said against it, having no distrust of its own Worth. I dare venture my Belief with any man. If tis right he may come into it, if wrong he may convince

vince me, and if he'll do neither he's at his liberty ; it breaks no squares at all, provided he's master of any Art, or Science, or other good Quality, by which I may reap any benefit or entertainment.

ALL the arts of defamation I have enumerated, are now jointly put in practise in this nation against one man ; for being nobly engag'd in the cause of Mankind, in the cause of Christianity, in that of the Reformation, and in that of the Laity. By this account every one must conclude, I mean the right reverend the Bishop of BANGOR : who, tis to be hop'd, will not be deserted by the Laity ; whose privileges as men and Christians, as Reasonable creatures and Protestants, he does with no less honesty than courage assert, against the encroachments of the Popishly affected part of the Clergy. The malice of Devils is set at work, and the tongues of wicked men are set on edge against him, for the stand he makes against Popery ; which is the heaviest curse that can light on any nation, the greatest unhappiness that can befall men, with respect to their civil or religious Liberties. They who are for setting up themselves instead of God (no matter under what name) and erecting a Political empire over the understandings and consciences of others ; cannot bear with a man, who preaches that as CHRIST is King in his own Kingdom, so his Kingdom is not of this World, nor Religion consequently to be propagated or promoted by secular Rewards and Punishments. Or if for mere shame, because the words are in Scripture, some of his Antagonists own, that CHRIST'S Kingdom is not of this World ; yet it is in such a manner, as to be content with nothing less than the whole World for their possession : and favoring or distinguishing the household of Faith, is in their sense to rob others of their Rights, to make religion a Monopoly, and to confine the

the Gospel to their Peculium, instead of giving it a free passage over all the earth. This Antichristian spirit is the source of infinite evils, that will certainly attend this Church and Nation; unless, in behalf of Christian Liberty, other able persons do seasonably interpose, after the example of this magnanimous Bishop, whom, tho unknown to him, I profoundly reverence for his main Principle: however he may differ from me in any thing of less importance, or that I may possibly differ from his Lordship in many of the things I advance in this very book.

BUT to conclude this Letter, the first of these DISSERTATIONS (which I made a secret to no body, since in the Year aforesaid I sent it to MEGALETOR) did, upon a mistaken notion of the Subject, probably occasion the alarm that was sounded four or five years ago, by the ingenious author of the Clergyman's thanks to PHILELEUTHERUS LIPSIENSIS; as if a new Gospel were to be foisted, I know not how, into the room of the four old ones. But now I hope his fears will abate, and that, for all this same BARNABAS of Turkey, MATTHEW, MARK, LUKE, and JOHN, may still make good their posts. And so, my Friend, the Letters I wrote in that time of warr, and sent by the post under the feign'd name of PANTHEUS, I communicate to you this day without any disguise, in order to publish them to all the world. I am, with perfect respect,

Dear Sir,

Jan. 20. 1718.

Your most obedient servant,

J. T.

P R E F A C E

ERRATA.

Page 14 in the Margin, for 3 read 23. Page 62, line 30, of a Jew and of the Law shou'd have been in Roman letter, as being paraphrastically added to the text. The other slips of the press are left to the Reader's candor.



NAZARENUS:

O R,

Jewish, Gentile, and Mahometan
CHRISTIANITY.

LETTER I.

CHAP. I.



IN my last Letter I promis'd to send you a *Dissertation* upon a subject altogether new (most illustrious MEGALETOR) and now I design to be as good as my word. But first I must make one or two reflections, which however will not lead us much out of our way. You know what vast sums have been publicly promis'd, and I have known much ampler rewards privately propos'd to be given that man, who shou'd recover the remaining parts of the incomparable historians,

B

LIVY

LIVY and TACITUS. Yet I am persuaded, from the present practice of mankind, as well as from several instances that have formerly happen'd of this very nature: that if any person were so happy, as to discover those or the like valuable manuscripts; he wou'd, contrary to his own and the world's expectations, be left to the mercy of the booksellers, or the generosity of subscribers. Do we not find all the books of the learned fill'd with complaints, that the ancient Egyptian language and letters, with the means to decypher their Hieroglyphicks, are irreparably lost? What labor, what expence do they not profess they wou'd lay out, to obtain those hidden, and therefore by them reckon'd inestimable, treasures? cou'd they perceive the least probability, or even possibility of succeeding. But for all this, THOMAS HYDE, the late Bodleian library-keeper at Oxford, Doctor of Divinity, Canon of Christ-Church, and Professor of the Oriental languages, after publishing to the world that he was become a perfect master of the ancient Persian literature, that he understood their language and letters, which are suppos'd long ago extinct; nay, and that he cou'd prove the genuin works of ZOROASTER, with several other books of the Magi (containing their history, religion, government, agriculture, and the like) were still extant: after asserting all these particulars, I say, and giving various specimens of their characters, in whole passages of his *Latin*¹ *history of the Religion of the ancient Persians*, tho reserving the Alphabet a secret to himself; yet he cou'd neither engage the public of any sort (applying to Whig and Tory ministers by turns) nor a sufficient number of pri-

1. *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum, eorumque Magorum, &c.* Oxoniae, 1700.

vate benefactors, to enable him to print the books of that kind he had already procur'd, nor to purchase those others which he knew were now in being. He was at the charge of casting a sett of those ancient Persian letters, and he once show'd me one of the books, by means wherof he attain'd the interpretation of the rest, written in alternate lines; the one red and the other black (if I remember right) the one in the old, the other in the modern character: which sorts of writing had not the least affinity or similitude together, no more than the two languages. Tho I confess I never had any extraordinary opinion of Dr. HYDE's judgement, when he took upon him to reason in matters of philosophy or theology; yet I generally found him a competent judge of facts in his most peculiar profession, and cou'd not therefore forbear wishing he had receiv'd due encouragement: that, after his translating of those books, we might likewise judge for our selves, and see how farr what the present² fire-worshippers in Persia, with their exil'd brethren the Persées in the East-Indies, believe with so much zeal, and conceal with so much industry, might agree with what the Greec and Roman authors have recorded concerning ZOROASTER and his Magi, the Persians themselves, their customs, language, and religion. Nor is it less to be wish'd, that some body, out of the Malabar language, wou'd publish the *Shaster*, now lying useless in the Bodleian library at Oxford; and which contains the Religion of the present Indian Bramans, transmitted to them from the ancient Brachmans, who affirm'd they receiv'd it from heaven. It

2. So they are commonly, tho erroneously nick-nam'd (as the Mahometans likewise call 'em Gauris, Heretics or Unbelievers) from their respecting the fire as a symbol of the Divinity.

3. MSS. Bodl. supra P. 3. Art. num. 2861.

N A Z A R E N U S.

signifies nothing how fabulous, contradictory, or mysterious such books may prove; since they serve not only to discover what the modern Indians believe, but to illustrate what old authors have deliver'd concerning the Indian Religion and Philosophy. But that I may not wander too farr, I cou'd never admire at our ignorance about things contain'd in dead languages, or the concerns of nations quite abolish'd, when we are so shamefully at a loss in the affairs of a people, that have flourish'd farr and wide for above a thousand years, that are contemporary with our selves, that are diversify'd into numerous sects and dialects, and with whom we not only daily converse and traffic; but who are also in some places polite and extremely subtil, abounding with men of letters in their way, and a great variety of books. Nevertheless, tis but very lately that we begun to be undeceiv'd about MAHOMET's pigeon, his pretending to work miracles, and his tomb's being suspended in the air: pious frauds and fables, to which the Musulmans are utter strangers. The truly learned and candid Mr. RELAND, the celebrated professor of the Oriental languages at Utrecht, has exploded not a few vulgar errors relating to the Alcoranists; as others in other articles have, with that moderate Divine and finish'd Scholar, Dr. PRIDEAUX, Dean of *Norwich*, done 'em the like justice. But the subject of this *Letter*, Sir, is a point not yet clear'd, if indeed touch'd by any: and tho the very title of *Mahometan Christianity* may be apt to startle you (for *Jewish* or *Gentile Christianity* shou'd not sound quite so strange) yet I flatter my self, that, by perusing the following *Dissertation*, you'll be fully convinc'd there is a sense, wherein the Mahometans may not improperly be reckon'd and call'd a sort or sect of Christians, as Christianity was at first

first esteem'd a branch of Judaism; and that consequently, shou'd the GRAND SEIGNIOR insist upon it, they might with as much reason and safety be tolerated at London and Amsterdam, as the Christians of every kind are so at Constantinople and thro-out all Turkey. You'll further see reasons here to persuade you of a great paradox, namely; that JESUS did not, as tis universally believ'd, abolish the Law of MOSES, neither in whole nor in part, not in the letter no more than in the spirit: with other uncommon particulars, concerning THE TRUE AND ORIGINAL CHRISTIANITY. Finally, you'll discover some of the fundamental doctrines of Mahometanism to have their rise, not from SERGIUS the Nestorian monk (a person who has hitherto serv'd for a world of fine purposes) but from the earliest monuments of the Christian religion. And tho for the most part I am only a historian, resolv'd to make no reflections but what my facts will naturally suggest, which facts are generally collected from the *Bible* and the *Fathers*; yet I am not wanting, when there's occasion for it, to chalk out the methods, whereby the errors of simple or designing men may be seasonably confuted: as particularly, by showing the most material difficulties they object; and by exhorting our Divines, with all others that are equal to the task, to prove the authenticness, divinity, and perfection of the *Canon of Scripture*, the best means to silence all gainsayers. Concerning the *new Gospel* I discover, you'll receive due satisfaction in the next chapter, and in those immediately following it. In the mean while, we may (I hope) be as reasonably allow'd to lay out some portion of our time and diligence about the Mahometan doctrine (wherin we are not wholly unconcern'd) as in explaining the old Heathen Mythology, which

makes so great a part of our studies, both at school and in the university. So much by way of Introduction: now to our subject.

CH A P. II.

AMONG the numerous *Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Revelations*, which were handed about in the primitive Church, which since that time have been pronounc'd apocryphal by the majority of Christians, and wherof some remain entire to this day, as the *Gospel of JAMES* for example (tho we have only a few fragments of several others) among these, I say, there was a *Gospel* attributed to BARNABAS, as appears from the famous *Decree of GELASIUS* 4 Bishop of

4. *Hujus Decreti verba huc spectantia, cum variantibus quorundam codicum lectionibus, sic se habent.* Itinerarium nomine Petri apostoli, quod appellatur sancti Clementis, libri octo [*potius decem*] apocryphum: Actus, nomine Andreae apostoli, apocryphi: Actus nomine Philippi apostoli, apocryphi: Actus nomine Petri apostoli, apocryphi: Actus nomine Thomae apostoli, apocryphi: Evangelium, nomine Thaddaei [*ut & Matthiae*] apocryphum: Evangelium, nomine Thomae apostoli, quo utuntur Manichaei, apocryphum: Evangelium, nomine BARNABAE, apocryphum: Evangelium nomine Bartholomaei apostoli [*etiam nomine Jacobi minoris*] apocryphum: Evangelium, nomine Andreae apostoli [*ut & Petri*] apocryphum: Evangelia, quae falsavit Lucianus, apocrypha: Evangelia, quae falsavit Hesychius, apocrypha: liber de Infantia Salvatoris, apocryphus: liber de nativitate Salvatoris, & de Sancta Maria, & de Obstetrice Salvatoris, apocryphus: liber qui appellatur Pastoris, apocryphus: libri omnes, quos fecit Lenticus [*potius Leucius, Charinus scilicet*] discipulus Diaboli, apocryphi: liber, qui appellatur Actus Theclae & Pauli apostoli, apocryphus: Revelatio, quae appellatur Thomae apostoli, apocrypha: Revelatio, quae appellatur Pauli apostoli, apocrypha: Revelatio, quae appellatur Stephani, apocrypha: liber, qui appellatur Transitus Sanctae Mariae, apocryphus: liber, qui appellatur Sortes Apostolorum, apocryphus: liber, qui appellatur Laus Apostolorum, apocryphus: liber Canonum Apostolorum, apocryphus: Epistola Jesu ad Abgarum regem, apocrypha —

Apud

of Rome, who inserts it by name in his roll of apocryphal books. Yet GELASIUS, who only augmented and confirm'd it, is not generally allow'd to be the first author of this *Decree*; but DAMASUS before him, as it was augmented again by HORMISDAS after him. The Gospel of BARNABAS is likewise quoted in the *Index of the Scriptures*, which COTELERIUS has publish'd from the 1789th manuscript of the French King's library. Tis further mention'd in the 206th manuscript of the BAROCCIAN collection in the Bodleian⁶ library, and is follow'd by the Gospel according to Matth: which, to be sure, signifies MATTHIAS and not MATTHEW; since not only in some copies of the *Gelasian Decree* there is a Gospel attributed to MATTHIAS, but also by ORIGEN, EUSEBIUS, JEROM, and AMBROSE, as may be seen by the Catalogues

Apud Gratian. distinct. 15. can. 3. & in tomo 4. Concilior. ac alibi passim.

5. Indiculus Scripturarum, in *Judicio de Constitut. Apostolic.*

6. *Catalogus hicce Barroccianus, cui nostras observationes uncinulis inclusas interspergemus, sic se habet in praedicto codice post Damascenum de mensibus macedonum. Αδαμ (libri nimirum Adamo olim a Judaeis afficti, speciatim parva Genesis) Ενωχ (scilicet prophetia) Λαμεχ (itidem prophetia) Πατριάρχαι (Testamentum duodecim patriarcharum) Ιωσeph προσευχη, Ελδαμ και Μοδαμ (Eldad & Medad) Διαθνηκη Μωσεως (legitur & alius liber dictus Αναληψις Μουσεως) Ψαλμοι Σαλμωντος (vel Ωδαι Σολομωντος) Ηλια Αποκαλυψις (vel prophetia) Ησαια ορασις (alias Αναβατικον) Σοφονια Αποκαλυψις (habetur & Ζαχαρια Αποκαλυψις, patris nempe Joannis Baptistae) Εσδρα Αποκαλυψις, Ιαλωβη Ισοεια, Πετρε Αποκαλυψις, Περιοδοι και Διδαχαι Αποστολων (Petri nempe, Pauli, Joannis, Thomae, & ceterorum) Βαρναβη Επιστολη, Παυλε πραξις, Παυλε Αποκαλυψις, Διδασκαλια Κλημεντος, Ιγνατιου Διδασκαλια [Πολυκαρπου Διδασκαλια] ΕΤΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΒΑΡΝΑΒΑΝ, Ευαγγελιον κατα Ματθ. Habentur & inter apocrypha in Nicephori Chronographia (vel potius in Stichometria eidem addita) Thomae Evangelium, Clementis prima & secunda Epistola, Ignatii Epistolae omnes, cum Hermiae pastore.*

of such as have written concerning the Apocryphal books of the *New Testament*. However we must not conceal that in the foresaid *Index of COTELERIUS*, which is the very same with that of the Bodleian library, *MATTHEW* is printed at length; whether it be erroneously expressed so in the manuscript, or that the transcriber has from *MATTH*, unaware of this distinction, made *MATTHEW*. But notwithstanding ancient testimonies, there appears not one single word or fragment of the *Gospel of BARNABAS*, printed by any author under this title: yet in the 39th *Baroccian* ⁷ manuscript there is one fragment of it in the following words. *The Apostle BARNABAS says, he gets the worst of it, who overcomes in evil contentions; because he thus comes to have the more* ⁸ *sin*. *BARNABAS* is here call'd an Apostle, as he's more than once so term'd by ⁹ *CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS*, and indeed by *LUKE* himself, or whoever was the writer of the *Acts of the Apostles*. But no particular work of *BARNABAS* being quoted in the *Baroccian* manuscript, I know (Sir) that a person of your exactness will presently ask me, how I come to affirm that this Saying did belong to his *Gospel*? since it can be no sufficient proof hereof, that it is not to be found in the *Epistle* extant under his name. The objection must be granted to be pertinent, because he might have written other books to us unknown; and therefore I promise a satisfactory answer in a few words,

Acts xiv.
14.

7. Vide Grabii Spicilegium Patrum, tom. 1. p. 302.

8. Βαρναβας ο αποστολος εφη, εν αμιλλαις πονηραις αθλιω-
τερος ο νικησας; διοτι επερχεται, πλεον εχων της αμαρτιας.

9. Stromat. lib. 2. Sic etiam audit apud plerosque Patres. & pa-
rum abest quin Epistola ipsi tributa, a quibusdam hodieque habeatur
Canonica.

which

which will appear in a better light further on in this *Letter*, the longest I ever sent you. As for the *Epistle* ascrib'd to BARNABAS, and which is still extant, it has been prov'd long since to be spurious by several able hands: but let it be of what authority you will, the modern *Gospel*, of which we shall speak presently, cou'd not be written by the same person; seeing the *Epistle* is purposely directed against the Judaizing Christians.

C H A P. III.

AFTER giving this account of the ancient *Gospel* of BARNABAS, or rather a bare proof that formerly there was such a *Gospel*, I come now to the *Gospel* of the Mahometans, which very probably is in great part the same book with that of BARNABAS; and so not yet extinct, as all Christian writers have hitherto imagin'd. But here I know you'll be surpriz'd, that I shou'd talk of any *Gospel* of the Mahometans at all. You'll cease your wonder nevertheless, when you consider how the Mahometans believe, as a fundamental article, that there have been six most eminent persons, who were the authors of new Institutions; every one of these gradually exceeding each other in perfection, tho in substance it be still one and the same religion. These six are ADAM, NOAH, ABRAHAM, MOSES, JESUS, and MAHOMET; wherein all Christians (excepting only as to this latter) agree with them, reckoning up in their several Systems so many ¹⁰ periods or dispensations, and calling the

10. Tritum est illud Theologorum, genus scilicet humanum ab Adam ad Noachum fuisse sub lege Naturae, a Nocho ad Abrahamum sub praeceptis Noachicis, ad Abrahamo ad Mosén sub Circumcisione, a Mose ad Christum sub ritibus Leviticis, & sic inde sub Evangelio usque ad Millennium, vel secundum alios ad supremum Judicium.

whole GOD'S ECONOMY. Nor are there wanting who continue subdividing such periods to the end of the world; and, according to some, there's but one period and a piece of one yet remaining: so exactly they know the beginning, the end, the measure of time and things! Now, altho the Mahometans do hold by tradition that ADAM, NOAH, ENOCH, ABRAHAM, and other patriarchs and prophets, had several books divinely sent 'em (even to the number of 104) containing the reveal'd will of God; yet the only obligatory ones are, according to them, these four, viz. the *Pentateuch* of MOSES, the *Psalms* of DAVID, the *Gospel* of JESUS, and the *Alcoran* of MAHOMET. Of all and every of these books they pronounce in this manner, nay and in these terms: *whoever denies these volumes, or doubts of the whole or part, or any chapter, verse, or word of the same, is certainly an infidel.* I cou'd allege for this formulary many undeniable authorities; but shall content my self at present to referr you to the third chapter of *The*¹¹ *compendious Mahometan Theology*, translated, illustrated with *Notes*, and publish'd five or six years ago by the eminent Professor ADRIAN RELAND, before mention'd. In the meantime you may perceive, that the Mahometans are not only more careful in preserving the integrity of their sacred books, than the Christians have generally been; but that they are likewise, as many of 'em assert, more consistent with themselves: since if any book be divinely inspir'd, say they, every line and word of it must necessarily be so; and therefore no room left, one wou'd imagine,

11. Adriani Relandi de Religione Mahommedica libri duo, pag. 25.

for *various Readings*, or such other Criticisms. The minute the learned may alter, add, or substitute, what to them shall seem most becoming the divine spirit, there's an end at once of *Inspiration*, (according to these gentlemen) and the book becomes thenceforth their own: meaning, that it is then the production of different times and diverse authors, till nothing of the original be left, tho the book continues as bulky as ever. But it must be carefully observ'd, that the Mahometan *system of Inspiration*, and that of the Christians, are most widely different: since we do not so much stand upon words, phrases, method, pointing, or such other niceties; as upon the matter it self, and the design of the whole, tho circumstances shou'd not be always so exact. Tis here we cast our sheet-anchor, and tis here we are confirm'd by matter of fact; notwithstanding the 30000 variations, which some of our Divines have discover'd in a few copies of the *New Testament*: nor have the copies of the *Alcoran* escap'd such variations (which is impossible in nature for any book to do) whatever the Mahometans pretend to the contrary, and even some of themselves have produc'd such different readings.

C H A P. IV.

TIS for the abovesaid reason, no doubt, of joining the *Pentateuch*, the *Psalms*, and the *Gospel* to the *Alcoran*, that I have heard some *Arabians* call Mahometanism the Religion of the four books, as the Christian Religion that of the two books. Nor is there any thing more evident to those who have taken pains in this matter, than that the Mahometans openly profess to believe the *Gospel*: tho they charge our copies with so much

much corruption and alteration, that our *Gospel* is not only no longer certain or genuin; but, according to them, the farthest of all books in the world from being divine. About this charge, and the four books which they acknowledge divine, may be particularly consulted *The historical Compend of* ¹² LEVINUS WARNER. But why shou'd I mention WARNER, or any other? since the *Alcoran* it self does so often refer to the *Pentateuch*, the *Psalms*, and the *Gospel*, the inspiration and authority wherof it always allows. This cannot be disputed. That the four books constitute the foundation of their Religion, is so much their general and constant belief, that one might as well be at the trouble of quoting authors to prove the Christians receiv'd the *Old* and *New Testament*. But since in a late conversation certain persons, who ought to know better, appear'd surpriz'd at this; I desire that, over and above the now-mention'd *historical Compend of* WARNER, and the *Mahometan Theology of* RELAND, they wou'd please to read the formulary or profession of JACOB BEN SIDI ALI, produc'd by the Maronite ¹³ GABRIEL SIONITA. Beyond exception is the testimony of the celebrated Divine ALGAZEL, in his *Exposition of the faith of the Sonnites*, or the Turkish Mahometans, in contradistinction to the Persians; where, in the article of *the word of God*, he thus speaks: *we are bound to believe that the Alcoran, the Pentateuch, the Gospel, and the Psalms of DAVID, are books*

¹². Compendium historicum eorum quae Mahommedani de Christo, & praecipuis aliquot Religionis Christianae capitibus tradiderunt.

¹³. De nonnullis Orientalium urbibus, nec non indigenarum religione ac moribus, Tractatus brevis; auctoribus Gabriele Sionita & Joanne Hefronita, Maronitis e Libano. cap. 14.

given by God, and reveal'd to his Ambassadors. Whoever has a mind to see the original Arabic passage, may read it in the 89th page of the third part of MARACCI's *Prodromus to the Alcoran*. In another Mahometan formulary, quoted in the 94th page of the same third part by MARACCI, you have the names of those Ambassadors in these words: *the Pentateuch was sent to MOSES the Son of AMRAM, and the Gospel to JESUS the Son of MARY, and the Psalms to DAVID, and the Alcoran to MAHOMET.* It were superfluous to add the concurrent testimonies of others. But still that *Gospel* is not ours, which, as I said, they decreetorily brand with falsification. Every traveller almost will tell you, that where JESUS promises to send the *Paraclete* to complete or perfect all things, the Mahometans maintain the original reading was ¹⁴ *Periclyte*, or the famous and illustrious, which in Arabic is *Mohammed*: so that their prophet was as much, in their account, foretold by name in the *Gospel*; as CYRUS is believ'd by the Jews and Christians, to have been foretold by name in the *Old Testament*. Here's one instance of Mahometan Criticism; not less subtil or more slightly grounded, than abundance of such discoveries hammer'd out of sounds or letters by Jews and Christians: and I own that I have always admir'd so few other examples of *various Readings* or *Interpolations* were produc'd by learned travellers (tho some they do) since the Mahometans have so different an account of the person of JESUS CHRIST, of his ministry on earth, and the circumstances of his ascent into heaven. I was sometimes temted to fancy, that the excessive veneration of the Mahometans for the *Alcoran*, made them suffer their *Gospel* to perish by neglect: but

John xiv.
16, 26. &
xv. 26. &
xvi. 7.
compar'd
with Luke
xxiv. 49.
Isaiah xlv.
28. & xlv.
1.

14. Περικλυτῷ, & non Παρεκκλητῷ.

Pag. 3.

corrected that thought again, when I found such multitudes of citations out of it in their writings, over and above those contain'd in the *Alcoran*; the passages somtimes agreeing with those in our *Gospels*, often with those we count apocryphal, and oftner with neither. Hence I concluded, that since they counted the *Gospel* a divine book, and had more knowledge of it than their *Alcoran* furnish'd, they must needs have a *Gospel* of their own; tho I was always astonish'd (as I said) at the negligence of travellers, or whatever other reason it might be, that hinder'd 'em from producing that *Gospel*, and yet so positively talk of its variety from ours. Nay, some of 'em have directly deny'd the Mahometans had any such *Gospel* now remaining; and Mr. RELAND, in his fore-mention'd Treatise, adopts their ¹⁵. opinion: not to speak of MARACCI, and divers other Writers of most Christian communions.

CHAP. V.

BUT at length (Sir) after wholly despairing of ever having a better account, it was my good fortune, instead of other information, to light on the *Gospel* it self; and translated into Italian, by or for the use of some renegades: for it is most certainly the performance of a Mahometan scribe. Yet knowing a more particular account will not be ungrateful, be pleas'd to receive it as follows. The learned gentleman, who has been so kind as to communicate it to me (*viz.* Mr. CRAMER,

¹⁵. But having better information since that time, he does, in an edition he has made of his book this very year, affirm, that the Mahometans have a *Gospel* of their own (page 23) and I suppose he means those of Barbary, because he says this *Gospel* is in Spanish and Arabic.

Counsellor

Counsellor to the King of *Prussia*, but residing at ¹⁶ *Amsterdam*) had it out of the library of a person of great name and authority in the said city; who, during his life, was often heard to put a high value on this piece. Whether as a rarity, or as the model of his religion, I know not. It is in the very first page attributed to BARNABAS, and the title of it runs in these ¹⁷ words: *The true Gospel of JESUS called CHRIST, a new prophet sent by God to the world, according to the relation of BARNABAS his apostle.* Here you have not only a new Gospel, but also a true one if you believe the Mahometans. But how honest soever they may be represented, this is a topic where none are to be credited without the utmost caution; since, tho every Gospel forbids lying, yet never are more lies told than about the Gospel. The first chapter of it begins ¹⁸ thus. BARNABAS an apostle of JESUS of Nazareth, called CHRIST, to all those who dwell upon the earth, wisheth peace and consolation. Whatever may become of the truth, this is the Scripture-stile to a hair. The book is written on Turkish paper delicately gumm'd and polish'd, and also bound after the Turkish manner. The ink is incomparably fine; and the orthography, as well as the character, plainly show it to be at least three hundred years old. I ever chuse to speak rather under than over in such cases. Any proper name of God, and the appellative word DIO it self, are constantly writ in red letters out

16. He's dead since the writing of this LETTER.

17. Vero Evangelio di Jessu chiamato Christo, novo profeta mandato da Dio al mondo, secundo la descriptione di Barnaba Apostolo suo.

18. Barnaba Apostolo di Jessu Nazareno, chiamato Christo, ha tutti quelli che habitano sopra la terra, pace he consolatione desidera. Charissimi.

of respect, and so are the Arabic *Notes* in transverse lines on the margin. The contents of the chapters are likewise written in red letters, and reach about the twentieth; a void space being left for the rest before each chapter, but no where fill'd up. The author of these summaries was a zealous Musulman, who charges the Christians all along with falsification, from this his only authentic *Gospel*. But they'll be nothing behind hand with him, whenever his *Gospel* comes to be better known. Much care and ornament was bestow'd upon the whole, and the Arabic word ALLAH is in red letters superstitiously interlin'd over D I O, for the first three times it occurs. The Story of J E S U S is very differently told in many things from the receiv'd *Gospels*, but much more fully and particularly; this *Gospel*, if my eye has not deceiv'd me, being near as long again as any of ours. Some wou'd make this circumstance a prejudice in favor of it, because as all things are best known just after they happen; so every thing diminishes, the further it proceeds from its original. But in this case the rule will be found not rightly apply'd, till the book is prov'd to be the genuin issue of B A R N A B A S. M A H O M E T is therein expressly nam'd for the *Paraclete*, as we have been told that he's so esteem'd, by all the historians of the Mahometan Religion: the Musulmans accusing our *Gospels* of corruption (as I noted before) in the 16th and 26th verses of the 14th Chapter of JOHN; and pretending further that M A H O M E T's name was struck out of the *Pentateuch* and the *Psalms*. M A H O M E T is nam'd again or foretold in some other places of this book of B A R N A B A S, as the design'd accomplisher of God's economy towards man. Tis, in short, the ancient Ebionite or Nazaren System, as to the making of J E S U S a mere man (tho not with them the Son of J O S E P H, but

divinely

See also
John xv.
26. & xvi.
7. compar'd
with Luke
xxiv. 49.

divinely conceiv'd by the Virgin MARY) and agrees in every thing almost with the scheme of our modern Unitarians; excepting the history of his death and resurrection, about which a very different account is given from that in our *Gospels*: but perfectly conformable to the tradition of the Mahometans, who maintain that another was crucify'd in his stead; and that JESUS, slipping thro the hands of the Jews, preach'd afterwards to his disciples, and then was taken up into heaven.

C H A P. VI.

HOW great (by the way) is the ignorance of those, who make this an original invention of the Mahometans! for the Basilidians, in the very beginning of Christianity, deny'd¹⁹ that CHRIST himself suffer'd, but that SIMON of Cyrene was crucify'd in his place. The Cerinthians before them, and the Carpocratians next (to name no more of those, who affirm'd JESUS to have been a mere Man) did believe the same thing; that it was not himself, but one of his followers very like him, that was crucify'd: so that *the Gospel of BARNABAS*, for all this account, may be as old as the time of the Apostles, bateing several interpolations (from which, tis known, that no *Gospel* is exempt) since CERINTHUS was contemporary with PETER, PAUL, and JOHN, if if there be any truth in²⁰ *Ecclesiastical history*. Thus PHOTIUS tells us, that he read a book, entitul'd, *The Journeys of the Apostles*, relating the

19. Iren. lib. 1. cap. 23, &c. Item Epiphan. Haeref 24. num. 3.

20. Iren. l. 3. c. 3. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 28. item l. 4.

c. 14. Epiphan. Haeref. 28. n. 2, 3, 4. Idem asserunt Augustinus, Theodoretus, cum reliquis.

acts of PETER, JOHN, ANDREW, THOMAS, and PAUL: and among other things contain'd in the same, this was ²¹ one, *that CHRIST was not crucify'd, but another in his stead; and that therefore he laugh'd at those, who thought they crucify'd him.* Some said it was JUDAS that was executed. This laughing of JESUS at the Jews was also affirm'd by the Basilidians, as you may see in the place I quoted about them just now out of EPIPHANIUS. 'Tis a strange thing, one wou'd think, they shou'd differ about a fact of this nature so early; and that CERINTHUS, who was contemporary, a countryman, and a Christian, shou'd, with all those of his Sect, deny the ²² resurrection of CHRIST from the dead: tho we cou'd easily solve the difficulty, were this a proper occasion for it; and I may, in convenient time, send you my observations on this subject. But they who deny'd his crucifixion, deny'd also his Genealogy, as it stands according to MATTHEW. In an Irish manuscript of the four *Gospels* (of which I shall give you an account in my next Letter) the Genealogy of JESUS is inserted apart, among certain preliminary pieces; and the first chapter of *Matthew* begins at these words, *Now the birth of JESUS CHRIST was on this wise.* The Ebionites, according to EPIPHANIUS, had not the ²³ Genealogy in their *Gospel*; which makes it needless for him to say ²⁴ elsewhere that the Cerinthians rejected it, whose *Gospel* was the same. But yet EPIPHANIUS, who confounds every thing

Ver. 18.

21. Καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν μὴ σταυρωθῆναι, ἀλλ' ἕτερον αὐτ' οὗτε, καὶ καταγγεῖλαι διὰ τούτου τῶν σταυρευτῶν. In Bibliotheca, cod. 14.

22. Haeref. 28. n. 6.

23. Haeref. 28. n. 5. & 30. n. 3.

24. Haeref. 28. n. 5.

(as particularly this *Gospel of the Hebrews* with that of MATTHEW) tells us that CERINTHUS and CARPOCRAS wou'd needs prove by this very GENEALOGY, that JESUS was the ²⁶ Son of JOSEPH and MARY. Nay, he farther acquaints us, how in the fourth Century, while CONSTANTINE the great reign'd, this Genealogy, with other curious pieces in Hebrew, was found by a certain JOSEPH in a cell of the treasury at Tiberias, which he honestly broke open to ²⁶ steal some mony; and that this odd accident was the chief reason of his becoming a Christian. But whether the word ²⁷ there signifies the Genealogy by it self according to PETAVIUS, or the whole *Gospel of MATTHEW* according to FABRICIUS, tis certain that TATIAN left the Genealogy out of his *Gospel*; which so impos'd on the Orthodox themselves, that THEODORET affirms he had ²⁸ remov'd above 200 of those *Gospels* out of public Churches, and plac'd others in their stead. So that the want of this Genealogy in the Irish copy of MATTHEW is not so strange a thing, as it may seem at first sight; which is all the consequence I shall now draw from it, referring the further discussion of it to another time, as it particularly relates to our Irish Manuscript.

25. Haeref. 30. n. 14.

26. Ibid. n. 6.

27. Το κατά Ματθαίου Εβραϊκόν ευαγγέλιον.

28. Hæret. fabul. l. 1. c. 20.

C H A P. VII.

BUT that I may not forget, what I promis'd above concerning the fragment of BARNABAS in the *Baroccian* Manuscript, I found it almost in terms in this *Gospel*, and the sense is evidently there in more than one place; which naturally induces me to think, it may be the *Gospel* antiently attributed to BARNABAS, however since (as I said) interpolated. I had not time to see if it contain'd the four sayings, or rather discourses of CHRIST, inserted by LEVINUS WARNER out of Mahometan books, into his *Notes* on the ²⁹ *Century of Persian Proverbs*, which he publish'd at the end of his *Historical Compend*, cited before. I found many sayings ascrib'd to JESUS by ³⁰ KESSEUS (as I read his *Lives of the Patriarchs and Prophets* cited) and by other Mahometan writers, express'd in this *Gospel* of BARNABAS: tho I have not yet examin'd all of that kind I have observ'd, no more than any of those in the *Alcoran*, the grossest of all impostures. But from what I have already had opportunity to do, two discoveries naturally result; which cannot, Sir, but be agreable to you.

I. The first is, that we now probably know, whence the Mahometans quote most passages of this kind, they have concerning CHRIST: some having for this very reason rashly charg'd 'em with forgery, and others gravely asserting, that they took them all out of the known Apocryphal pieces; as if they had kept these with more care than the Christians, and without ever naming or producing any of the Apocryphal books they cou'd so easily suppose.

29. *Ad proverb.* 61. in *Appendice Compendii historici*, pag. 30.

30. Abu-Mohammed Abd-Alla.

The Gospel of the Infancy of CHRIST, publish'd some years ago out of Arabic, appears not only from the invocation of the Trinity to be no Mahometan imposture; but from *Ecclesiastical history*, and the extant original Grecic Manuscripts, unknown to Mr. SIKE the editor of it, to be long anterior to MAHOMET. This is as true of *the Gospel of JAMES*, which boasts of being the first of all the *Gospels*, or the PROTOEVANGELION: nor is it less true of *the Gospel of NICODEMUS*, which last is only extant in Latin; and seems by diverse of its expressions and doctrines, to be one of the latest of all those spiritual cheats. I deny not, that the Mahometans have borrow'd some of their fables from these and the like *apocryphal Scriptures*: I only deny it of all such, as believing most of 'em to be cull'd out of their own *Gospel of BARNABAS*. They are not ignorant however, either of the existence or imposture of the just mention'd *Gospel of the Infancy*, which AHMED EBN EDRIS cites by name, calling it also *the fifth Gospel* (as you may see in the 2d Chapter of the first part of MARACCI'S *Prodromus*) but redundant, says he, in many things, and in many things defective. Our next discovery is, that the Mahometans not only believe, as is well known, many things recorded of JESUS in our *Gospels*; but that they have likewise a peculiar *Gospel* of their own, tho probably in a few hands among the learned, from which perhaps some passages in ours may be farther illustrated: for very antient books, tho never so spurious, always speak the language, often express the traditions, and commonly allude to the customs of their own times. I wou'd here add, as a third discovery, that we have at length found out the *Gospel* father'd of old upon BARNABAS, tho not in its original purity. But I had not the perusal of the

II.

III.

book long enough, to form any peremtory decision in this case; notwithstanding the force of those presumptions, I have already alledg'd. I know how difficult a thing it is, to come at any *Alcoran* it self; and how few have it in their hands, even in Turkey: Yet I have taken the most proper measures to gain all the further light about *the Gospel of BARNABAS*, that can possibly be procur'd; as you'll perceive by some **QUERIES** I have drawn up, and which I shall do my self the honour to ³¹ communicate to you in a few days.

C H A P. VIII.

NOW, as I have before given the first words of this *Gospel*, I shall add the last words of it in this place. *JESUS* being ³² gone (that is into heaven) *the Disciples scatter'd themselves into many parts of Israel, and of the rest of the world: and the truth, being hated of SATAN, was persecuted by falsehood, as it ever happens. For certain wicked men, under pretence of being Disciples, preach'd that JESUS was dead, and not risen again: others preach'd that JESUS was truly dead, and risen again: others preach'd, and still continue to preach, that JESUS*

³¹. See the Appendix, num. III.

³². Partito Jessu, si divisse per diverse parte de Isdrahelle he del mondo li dissepoli; he la verita, hodiata da Sattana, fu persheguitata dalla Bugia, chome tutavia si trova: perche alchuni mali homeni, sotto pretesto di dissepoli, predichavano Jessu essere morto he non rissuscitato; altri predichavano Jessu essere veramente morto, he rissuscitato; altri predichavano, he hora predichano, Jessu essere fiolo di DIO, fra li qualli he Paullo ingannato. Noi pero, quanto habia sciuto, predichiamo ha cholloro che temono DIO, azioche fiano salvi nello ultimo giorno dello juditio di DIO; Amen. Fine dello Eyangelio.

is the Son of God, among which persons PAUL has been deceiv'd. We therefore, according to the measure of our knowledge, do preach to those who fear God, to the end they may be sav'd at the last day of his divine judgment; Amen. The end of the Gospel. Tis plain that the writer of this book has known of the dissention between BARNABAS and PAUL, recorded in the Acts of the Apostles: and it will be said, perhaps, that this quarrel set BARNABAS a writing. PAUL had likewise no little contest with PETER, about his manner of preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles. Neither do I doubt but tis the Apostle of the Gentiles, that is aim'd at in an Epistle of PETER to JAMES, prefixt by COTELERIUS to the Clementines. The words of PETER (after entreating JAMES not to communicate his *Preachings* to any Gentile, nor even to any Jew without previous examination) are ³³ these. For if this be not done, says he, our speech of truth

Acts xv.

36, 37, 38, 39, 40.

Compare Acts x. with Gal. ii. 11, 12.

33. Επει εαν μη ουτως γενηται, εις πολλας γνωμας ο της αληθειας ημων διαιρεθησεται λογος. Τουτο δε ουχ' ες ο προφητης ων επισαμαι, αλλ' ηδη αυτες τε κακου την αρχην ορων. Τινες γαρ των απο εθνων, το δι' εμου νομιμον απεδουκιμασαν κερυγμα, τε εχθρε ανθρωπε ανομον τινα και φλυαρωδη προσηκαμενοι διδασκαλιαν. Και ταυτα επι με περιοντο επεχειρησαν τινες ποικιλαις τισιν ερμενειαίς τις εμης λογους μελαχηματιζεν εις την του Νομου καταλυσιν; ως και εμου αυτου ουτω μεν φρονουντο, μη εκ παρησιας δε κερυσουντο: οπερ απειη. Το γαρ τοιουτο αντιπρασσεν εστι τω τε δεσ νομω, τω δια Μουσεως ρεθηντι, και υπο τε κυριου ημων μαρτυρηθεντι ωει της αιδιου αυτου διαμονης, επει ουτως ειπεν: ο ουρανός και η γη παρελευσονται, ιωτα εν η μια κεραια ου μη παρελθη απο τε νομου. Τουτο δε ειρηκεν, ινα τα παντα γινηται. Οι δε, ουκ οίδα πως, τον εμον νουν επαγγελλομενοι, ους ηκουσαν εξ εμου λογους, εμου του ειποντο αυτες φρονιμωτερον επεχειρουν ερμενευειν: λεγοντες τοις υπ αυτων καθηχουμένοις, τουτο ειναι το εμον φρονημα, ο εγω ουδ' ενεδυμηθεν. Ει δε εμου ετι περιοντο τοιαυτα τολμωσιν καταψευδεσθαι, τοσω γε μαλλον μετ' εμε ποιειν οι μετ' εμε ποιησεσιν. Tom. i. Patr. Apostolic. pag. 602.

will be divided into many opinions. Nor do I know this thing as being a prophet, but as seeing even now the beginning of this very evil: for some from among the Gentiles have rejected my Legal preaching; embracing the trifling and Lawless doctrine of a man, who is an enemy. And these things some have endeavor'd to do now in my own life-time, transforming my words by various interpretations to the destruction of the Law; as if I had been of the same mind, but durst not openly profess it, which be farr from me. For this were to act against the Law of God spoken by Moses, and which has the testimony of our Lord for its perpetual duration, since he thus has said: heaven and earth shall pass away, yet one jot or one tittle shall not pass from the Law. And this he said, that all might be fulfill'd. But these, I know not how, promising to deliver my opinion, take upon them to explain the words they heard from me, better than I that spoke them; telling their disciples my sense was that, of which I have not so much as thought. Now, if in my own life-time they dare feign such things; how much more will those, that come after me, do the same? This most remarkable and incontestably ancient piece, with others at least as ancient, which I cou'd cite were it needful, do manifestly shew; that this notion of PAUL's having wholly metamorphos'd and perverted the true Christianity (as some of the Heretics have exprest it) and his being blam'd for so doing by the other Apostles, especially by JAMES and PETER, is neither an original invention of the Mahometans, nor any sign of the novelty of their Gospel: but rather a strong presumption of its antiquity, at least as to some parts of it; since this was the constant language and profession of the most ancient Sects, as I shall convince you beyond any room for doubt.

See Gal. ii.
11, 12. 13,
14.

Mat. v. 18.
Luke xvi.
17.

See Gal. as
above.

C H A P. IX.

TO set this matter therefore in the clearest light, it is to be noted, that the Ebionites call'd P A U L *an Apostate from the Law*; and rejected all his *Epistles*, as those of an Enemy and an Impostor. This is recorded by ³⁴ O R I G E N ³⁵ and E U S E B I U S, which shows that E P I P H A N I U S (whose testimony we shall produce hereafter) is neither the only, nor the first, nor without an author, that said this of the Ebionites, as the acute Mr. N Y E has too positively affirm'd in his *Judgement of the Fathers*; denying this of O-
R I G E N by name, whom I have this moment quoted for it. The like charge against P A U L is acknowleg'd of the Nazarens, who were the same people under another name, or rather this of N A Z A R E N S is the only name they own'd: and both of 'em, if they must needs be made two, were the first converts among the Jews to Christianity; that is to say, the first Christians, and consequently the only Christians for some time. Mr. S E L D E N, never to be mention'd without honor, shows, that at least for the space of seven years after the death of C H R I S T, none of the Gentiles embrac'd his doctrine; all his followers, till the conversion of C O R N E L I U S the Centurion, who was a profelyte of the gate, having been of the Jewish ³⁶ nation and religion. Pag. 35.
Acts x. 47, 48.

34. Contra Cels. l. 5.

35. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 27. 'Ουτοι δε τε μεν Αποσολε πασας τας Επισολας αρνηταις ηγουντο ειναι δειν, Αποσταταν αποκαλυντες αυτον τε νομου. Item Nicephor. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 4. Videatur & ejusdem l. 5. c. 12.

36. De Synedriis, l. 1. n. 8.

Now,

Ibid. x. 38 & iii. 6. & iv. 10. Now, these Jewish converts were term'd Nazarens from *JESUS of Nazareth*, as it appears that all the first Christians were so; since *PAUL* himself is, in *the Acts of the Apostles*, call'd a *ringleader of the Heresy of the Nazarens*. *EPIPHANIUS* not only affirms, that all Christians were at ³⁷ first by the Jews term'd Nazarens, and even by the Apostles themselves, *PETER* saying, *JESUS of Nazareth, a man approv'd of God, &c*: but also that the *NAZARENS* took this name to ³⁸ themselves, but not that of *JESSEANS* after *JESUS*, nor of *CHRISTIANS* after *CHRIST*; and that all Christians whatsoever were stil'd Nazarens, before they were call'd Christians at Antioch. *TERTULLIAN* speaks to the same ³⁹ purpose. They were likewise call'd by way of contempt *EBIONITES* or beggars (just as the first Protestants in Flanders *Gueux*) which is very evident, not only from the silence of *IRENEUS* concerning any such person as *EBION*, but also from the express testimonies of ⁴⁰ *ORIGEN* and *EUSEBIUS*, that they were thus nick-nam'd because of their mean condition: and even from the Hebrew word *Ebion* it self, which signifies *poor*, and was a most proper epithet of the first Christians; as

אביון

37. Ναζωραίων, ὁ ἐστὶ χριστιανῶν, ὁ κληθεὶς ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων χριστιανισμῷ, καὶ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀποστόλων, λεγόντῃ Πέτρῳ, Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον, ἀνδρᾶ ἀποδείδειγμένον ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, &c. Haeref. 19. n. 4.

38. Οὕτως γὰρ [οἱ Ναζωραῖοι] ἑαυτοῖς ὄνομα ἐπέθεντο, ὡς χριστοὶ, ὅτε αὐτοὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἀλλὰ Ναζωραίων; καὶ πάντες δὲ χριστιανοὶ Ναζωραῖοι πῦτε ὁσαύτως ἐκαλεῖντο. Id Haeref. 29. n. 1. & *ibid.* n. 6, 7.

39. Nazaraeus vocari habebat, secundum prophetiam, Christus creatoris: unde & ipso nomine nos Judaei Nazaraeos appellant per eum. *Contra Marcion.* l. 4. c. 8.

40. Origen. contra Cels. l. 2. & Philocal. c. 1. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 27.

JAMES asks the question concerning them, *has* Jam. ii. 5.
not God chosen the POOR of this world, rich in
faith; and as CHRIST order'd JOHN to be
told, *that the Gospel was preach'd to the POOR*; Mat. xi. 5.
or, to say it in Hebrew, to the *Ebionites*. Yet לאביונים
afterwards some persons, that were equally igno-
rant of the Jewish language and of the Christian
history, ridiculously invented a certain EBION
(of whom they tell very formal stories) to be the
author of the Ebionites; as they saw several other
Sects had peculiar founders, of whom they de-
riv'd their appellation. But we ought much soon-
er to believe the Ebionites themselves about their
own name of Nazarens, and nick-name of Ebio-
nites, than JEROM, or EPIPHANIUS, or any
other of their enemies; who either did not know
them enough, or wilfully and maliciously misre-
presented them. Others again, who cou'd no
more digest this very gross account, than content
themselves with the lovely simplicity of truth,
insinuated that those first Christians were call'd
Ebionites from their ⁴¹ poor and low notions of
CHRIST's person: a derivation as farr fetcht as
any other, and which diverse learned men have
deservedly exploded. Nevertheless, whatever
confusion and diversity may be observ'd concern-
ing them in IRENEUS, JUSTIN MARTYR,
EUSEBIUS, EPIPHANIUS, AUGUSTIN,
THEODORET, and others of those they call
the old *Fathers*, tis constantly agreed among them,
that the Nazarens and Ebionites affirm'd JESUS
to have been a mere man, as well by the father as
the mother's side, namely the Son of JOSEPH

41. Εβ'ωναιοὺς τοὺτους οἰκεῖως ἐπεσημίζον οἱ πρῶτοι πτωχοὶ
καὶ ταπεινοὶ τὰ περὶ τὰ Χριστὸν δοξαζομένους. Euseb. Hist. Ec-
cles. l. 3. c. 27.

‘ and MARY; but that he was ⁴² just, and wise,
 ‘ and excellent, above all other persons, meriting to
 ‘ be peculiarly call’d THE SON OF GOD, by
 ‘ reason of his most virtuous life and extraordinary en-
 ‘ dowments: and that they join’d with their Chri-
 ‘ stian profession, the necessity of circumcision, of
 ‘ the observation of the sabbath, and of the other
 ‘ Jewish ceremonies; which necessity must be un-
 derstood only of the Jewish Christians, for the
 reasons I shall produce by and by. EUSEBIUS
 says, that some few of ’em in his time (that is, in
 the fourth century) believ’d, like the Gentile Chri-
 stians, the mother of CHRIST to have been a
⁴³ Virgin; and that he was conceiv’d by virtue of
 the Spirit of God, tho still but a mere man (which
 is just the Socinianism of our times) but that they
 enjoin’d the observation of the Legal ceremonies,
 as strictly as the others. There were diversities
 of opinion among ’em, no doubt, no less than a-
 mong other societies, as this same distinction is as
 old as ORIGEN’s time: yet tho these latter were
 a quite different sort from the former, as the best
 Critics fairly acknowledge; they rejected PAUL’s
Epistles equally with the others, and were as high-
 ly irritated ⁴⁴ against him. But the *Fathers* acted
 with inexcusable confusion and injustice, to call
 men professing two such contrary sentiments by
 the same name of Ebionites, if such a Heretic as
 EBION had ever existed; which some of ’em,
 as I said, did most ignorantly averr, especially JE-
 ROM and EPIPHANIUS: tho the Ebionites

42. Iren. l. 1. c. 26. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 27. Epiphan.
 Haeres. 7. n. 2. 28. n. 1. & 30. n. 2, 18. Theodoret. Haeret. fab.
 l. 2. c. 1, 2. cum reliquis.

43. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 27. *Idem dicunt* Origen. contra Cels. l.
 2. Hieronym. in Epist. ad Augustin. & Theodoret. in loco jam
 potato.

44. Origen contra Cels. l. 5.

themselves (as even EPIPHANIUS ⁴⁵ confesses, who yet will not believe them) deny'd any such EBION; and glory'd in their name, alledging their poverty was occasion'd by the laying of all their substance at the Apostles feet, for the first and most powerful support of Christianity, by a community of goods. These Nazarens therefore or Ebionites were mortal enemies to PAUL, whom they stil'd *an Apostate* (as we saw just now) and ⁴⁶ *a transgressor of the Law*: representing him as an intruder on the genuin Christianity, and, tho a stranger to the person of CHRIST, yet substituting his own pretended Revelations to the doctrines of those with whom CHRIST had convers'd, and to whom he actually communicated his will. This is the sum of what we certainly know concerning them; for in other things, one or two points excepted, the *Fathers* are not of accord. Moreover, the Christians are to this day by the Arabians and Persians call'd NAZARI, and NOZERIM by the Jews, who call'd them at the beginning (as I suppose upon occasion they do still) MINEANS or Heretics: מִינִיּוֹם since all sectaries, of all sorts, are so nam'd by them; and that Christianity was then reckon'd but a Jewish Heresy, tho it was rather truely and properly their Reformation. The Nazarens or Mineans, whose Churches flourish'd over all the ⁴⁷ east, us'd to be curs'd by the Jews in their synagogues, at morning, noon, and evening pray-

Acts ii.

44, 45. &

iv. 34, 35, &c.

מִינִיּוֹם

45. Haeref. 30. n. 17.

46. Hieronym. in cap. 12. Matth.

47. Usque hodie per totas Orientis Synagogas inter Judaeos haereticus est, quae dicitur MINAEORUM, & a Phariseis nunc usque damnatur, quos vulgò Nazaracos nuncupabant. Hieronym. in Epist. ad Augustin.

ers, under this very name of ⁴⁸ Nazarens; as being excommunicate persons, and apostates from their body. In effect, they were commonly confounded together by the Heathens, even a good while after the Gentile converts made another Church: nor is SELDEN the only person, that, in later times, has asserted CHRISTIANITY to be no more than ⁴⁹ REFORMED JUDAISM; the true religion being one and the same in substance from the beginning, tho in circumstances the Institutions of it at different times be different, and consequently more or less perfect. But we must not forget how his adversaries us'd the Apostle of the Gentiles.

C H A P. X.

NOR does PAUL deny the charge of the Ebionites, that he did not learn *his Gospel* (a phrase familiar to him) from those who were immediately taught by CHRIST himself. For he tells the Galatians plainly, that *the Gospel which he preach'd was not after man; for I neither receiv'd it of man* (says he) *neither was I taught it but by the revelation of JESUS CHRIST: neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were Apostles before me, but I went into Arabia and Damascus. Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see PETER, and abode with him fifteen days; but other of the Apostles saw I none, save JAMES the*

Rom. ii.
16. & xvi.
25. Gal. i.
11. & ii.
2. 2 Tim.
ii. 8.
Gal. i. 11,
12.
Ver. 17,
18, 19.

48. Usque hodie perseverant in blasphemiiis, & ter per singulos dies in omnibus Synagogis, sub nomine Nazaraeorum, anathematizant vocabulum Christianum. *Id. in Isaiam, cap. 5. ver. 18.*

49. Nec disciplina illa apud eos alia, quam Judaismus verè Reformatus, seu cum fide in Messiam, seu Christum, ritè conjunctus. *De Synedr. l. 1. c. 8.*

Lord's brother. And so he went on preaching this Gospel to the Gentiles, as he informs us in the same *Epistle* and elsewhere; expressly absolving them (and, as tis now generally believ'd, the Jews themselves) from Circumcision and all the Levitical ceremonies, against which he strenuously argues every where. Then he declares, how that *fourteen years after he went again to Jerusalem, and communicated unto them that Gospel, which he had preach'd among the Gentiles; yet but privately to them who were of reputation, for fear* Ibid. ii. 1, 2. of those who did not approve of the liberty he preach'd from the Jewish ceremonies. Next he tells of what pass between him and the other Apostles, *who, tho they seem'd to be somewhat, in conference added nothing to him: but contrarywise,* Ver. 6, 7, 8, 9. says he, *when they* (that is, JAMES, and CEPHAS, and JOHN, who seem'd to be pillars) *saw that THE GOSPEL OF THE UNCIRCUMCISION was committed unto me, as THE GOSPEL OF THE CIRCUMCISION was unto PETER, and perceiv'd the grace that was given unto me; they gave to me and BARNABAS the right hands of fellowship, that we shou'd go unto the HEATHEN, and they unto the CIRCUMCISION.* This consent of JAMES, PETER, and the rest, the Ebionites flatly deny'd; maintaining, that if these had approv'd of PAUL's practice, they wou'd as well have gone in that manner to the Gentiles themselves, which cou'd be no less than the duty of some of them: and that his rivalling of PETER and JAMES for superiority, being ambitious to be the head of a party, is undeniable from these his own declarations. They further object-ed that he gave onely his own word for his revelations; and that some few miracles recorded in *the Acts of the Apostles* were no demonstration of his

- his mission, for a reason we shall allege presently, which reason consists in the opinion they had of this book. But to go on with PAUL's account,
- Ver. 11. *when PETER (says he) was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blam'd; since he had already, it seems, departed from the foresaid consent, recorded also in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles: for before that certain came from JAMES (adds PAUL*
- Ver. 12. *here to the Galatians) he did eat with the Gentiles; but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the CIRCUMCISION. This account the Ebionites again rejected as contradictory, since JAMES was one of those, that according to PAUL himself, had approv'd of his preaching to the Gentiles: and yet now they were those, who came from JAMES, that made PETER withdraw from the Gentiles. There's but one way in the world of reconciling these things, which we shall see a little further, and firmly hope it will satisfy the most incredulous. The Nazarens or Ebionites (for I use these words promiscuously) wou'd likewise probably say, it was this very misrepresentation of his sense, that PETER meant in his fore-cited Letter to JAMES. And tis indeed more than probable, when PETER says there, that certain took upon them to explain his words better than himself, giving out that he was of their mind, but durst not openly profess so much; tis pritty plain, I say, that the author of this Letter had that passage in his view, where PAUL, as we saw just now, charges PETER with not daring to own his opinion, for fear of them which were of the Circumcision: adding, that the other Jews dissembled likewise with them, inso-much that BARNABAS was carry'd away with their dissimulation. But we ought not slightly to*
run
- As above,
page 24.
- Ver. 13.

run over this passage, since from the history of the Nazarens we shall take occasion (and a very natural occasion it is) to set **THE ORIGINAL PLAN OF CHRISTIANITY** in its proper light; the want of which made it a Mystery to both Jew and Gentile, before the declaration of it by **JESUS**: but since that declaration it ceases to be longer a **MYSTERY** to any, but to such as love darkness better than the light; or that take upon them to teach others, what they profess not to understand themselves. Whereas, after the manifestation of it by the *Gospel*, nothing is more intelligible or conceivable, as nothing is more amiable or interesting, than the true and genuine Christianity: so plain and perspicuous indeed, that it was preach'd at the very beginning to men of the most ordinary capacities; who were not puzzl'd but enlightn'd, not banter'd but thoroly instructed.

C H A P. XI.

TO be *carry'd away* therefore here (**MEGALETOR**) must signify purely by opinion, or difference of sentiments, and not by any separation of company: or else it wou'd be a contradiction to the reason of the contest between **PAUL** and **BARNABAS**, that is given in *the Acts of the Apostles*; the time and the place, at Antioch, being unquestionably the same. For in the *Acts*, **BARNABAS** (who first entertain'd and introduc'd **PAUL** to the Apostles, whereas before none wou'd receive him, nor believe him to be a disciple) is represented all along as his fellow-Apostle to the Gentiles, without showing the least scruple in this affair of the Levitical rites. He was deputed with him from the Church of Antioch, to represent the

D state

state of this same controversy to the Apostles at Jerusalem; and came back again in his company with the determination they made in this case, wherein he's ever mention'd as of PAUL's side. Then follows this different account of the quarrel *Ibid.* xv. 36, in these words. PAUL said unto BARNABAS, 37, &c. *let us go again, and visit our brethren in every city, where we have preach'd the word of the Lord, and see how they do. And BARNABAS determin'd to take with them JOHN, whose Surname was MARK: and PAUL thought not good to take him with them, who departed from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work. And the contention was so sharp between them, that they departed asunder one from the other: and so BARNABAS took* ⁵⁰ MARK, *and sail'd unto Cyprus; and PAUL chose SILAS, and departed. This is quite another story, and we learn from it that BARNABAS now preach'd apart; which probably gave a handle to Impostors, of framing a Gospel in his name. But the Ebionites did not trouble themselves with this difference seeming or real, nor with any thing else in the Acts of the Apostles, which they reject-ed as a* ⁵¹ *spurious piece; not deserving the title, were the contents of it true: since nothing was said therein of many of the Apostles, and comparatively very little of PETER or JAMES, being almost wholly taken up about PAUL. Neither did the* ⁵² *Cerinthians (a branch of the Ebionites) any more than the* ⁵³ *Marcionites, acknowledge it: and the Ebionites had very different Acts of the Apostles, wherein it was recorded, among other*

⁵⁰. *His Sister's Son*, Col. 4. 10.

⁵¹. Epiphan. *Haeref.* 30. n. 16.

⁵². Philastr. *Haeref.* 36.

⁵³. Tertullian. *contra Marcion.* l. 5. c. 2.

things,

things, that ⁵⁴ PAUL was of Tarsus, which he owns and denies not, says EPIPHANIUS. It was added, that he was originally a Heathen, from that passage where it is truly said by him, I am a man of Tarsus, a citizen of no mean city; whence they conclude him, to have been a Heathen both by the father and mother's side. It was further affirm'd in those Acts that he came to Jerusalem, stay'd there for some time, and had a mind to marry the High Priest's daughter; on the account of which he became a proselyte, and was circumcis'd (contrary to what he relates of himself in his Epistle to the Philippians, as well as often elsewhere) but that afterwards not obtaining the young woman, he was angry, and wrote against Circumcision, against the Sabbath, and against the keeping of the Law. The Ebionites likewise retorted the charge of dissimulation on PAUL himself, not onely in circumcising TIMOTHY, tho the son of a Heathen, because of the Jews that dwelt at Lystra and Iconium; but particularly as to his conduct on another occasion, which was thus. After he had gone up to Jerusalem, and declar'd to JAMES and all the Elders, what had past in his ministry among the Gentiles, they said unto him: thou seest, brother, how many thousands of the Jews there are which believe, and they are ALL zealous of the Law (as we shew'd be-

Acts xxi.

39.

Phil. iii. 5.

Acts xxiii.

6. Rom. xi.

1. 2 Cor. xi.

22, &c.

Acts xvi. 1,

2, 3.

Ibid. xxi.

20—26.

54. Ταρσεα μεν αυτον, ως αυτος ομολογει και ουκ αρνείται, λεγοντες: εξ Ελληνων δε αυτον υποτιθενται, λαβοντες την περφορην εκ τε τοπε δια το φιλαληδες υπ' αυτου ρηθεν, οτι Ταρσευς ειμι, ουκ ασημου πολεως πολιτης. Ειτα φασκουσιν αυτον ειναι Ελληνα, και Ελληνιστος μητρος και Ελληνος πατρος παιδα: αναβεβηκεναι δε εις Ιερουσαλυμα, και χρονον εκει μεμενηκεναι, επιτεδυμηκεναι δε θυγατεραν τε Ιερεως προς γαμον αγαγεσθαι, και τετενεκα περισηλυτον γενεσθαι, και πεπεισμενην: ειτα μη λαβοντα την κορην ωργισθαι, και κατα πειτομης γεγενασθαι, και κατα σαββατου, και νομοδουσιας. Epiphanius. Haeres. 30. n. 16, 25.

fore of the Nazarens) *and they are inform'd of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews, which are among the Gentiles, to forsake MOSES; saying, that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs.* So he's now understood, I am sure. *What is it therefore? the multitude must needs come together: for they will hear that thou art come. Do therefore this that we say to thee. We have four men, which have a vow on them; take them, and purify thy self with them, and be at charges with them, that they may shave their heads: and all may know that those things, wherof they are inform'd concerning thee, ARE NOTHING; but that thou thy self also walkest orderly, and keepest the Law.* As touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written and concluded, that they observe no such thing; save only that they keep themselves from things offer'd to Idols, and from blood, and from things strangl'd, and from fornication. By the way, here is no restriction made as to time or place, either in the abstinence of the Gentile Christians from these four heads, or in the keeping of the Law by the Jewish Christians. But of this

Ver. 26. *presently. Then PAUL took the men, and the next day purifying himself with them, enter'd into the Temple; to signify the accomplishment of the days of purification, that an offering shou'd be offer'd for every one of them.* It follows therefore irrefragably, that PAUL contended onely for the liberty of the Gentiles from Circumcision and the rest of the Law, but not by any means of the Jewish Christians: for if the matter was not so, how cou'd it

Ver. 24. *be truely said, that those things were nothing, with which he was charg'd? namely, that he taught the Jews to forsake MOSES, and that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs. And, upon any other foot, wou'd not the other Apostles be as great dissemblers*

blers as he? this being, as I hinted before, the onely way in the world to reconcile things; and reconcile them it absolutely does, without any doubt or difficulty. Abstruse and multiform are the windings of error; but the clew of truth is uniform and easy. Yet to what unaccountable shifts are most Commentators driven, to save their own precarious System, and withall the integrity of the Apostles! what loose maxims, incompatible even with ordinary morals, do they not authorize! when nothing can ever do, but the real distinction of Jewish and Gentile Christians; who are ever to subsist in the Church, as in the sequel will be made evident. Neither am I altogether singular in this point: for this very passage of PAUL's justifying himself to his countrymen in this manner, appear'd so decisive to JAMES RHENFERD, Professor of the Oriental tongues in ⁵⁵ Franeker, that he doubted not in one of his excellent ⁵⁶ *Dissertations* to maintain, that PAUL taught onely the Gentile Christians (and never the Jewish, as is universally suppos'd) to abstain from Circumcision, and the observation of the rest of the Law. He confirms his opinion by these words of PAUL himself to the Corinthians: *but as God has distributed to every man, as the Lord has call'd every one, so let him walk; and so ordain I in all the Churches. Is any man call'd being CIRCUMCIS'D? let him not become UNCIRCUMCIS'D: is any call'd in UNCIRCUMCISION? let him not become CIRCUMCIS'D. CIRCUMCISION is nothing, and UNCIRCUMCISION is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God. Let every man*

1 Cor. vii.
17, 18, 19,
20.

55. He's dead since the writing of this Letter.

56. De fictis Judaeorum & Judaizantium Haeresibus.

abide in the same calling, wherein he was called. I repeat it again, that PAUL can never be otherwise defended against the Ebionites; tho I know at the same time, that this will be call'd contradicting all the Churches in the world: and I despair not of setting the argument here in its due light, as I said before, without making my *Dissertation* too bulky. Yet let Criticism and Reason be ever so clear in the case, let *Scripture* and *History* be ever so positive, or an Accommodation with the Jews be ever so much facilitated; some of the reigning Divines will be as fond of their errors as of their benefices, and sooner keep up an eternal warr between the Jews and the Gentiles, than own themselves to have been ever in the wrong. *No Innovation* is the word, when the question is all the while about reducing things to the *Old Foundation*.

C H A P. XII.

Acts xxi.
20.

Exod. xii.
26, 27. &
xiii. 8, 9.
*and in many
other places,
as Deut. iv.
5—10. &
vi. 2, 7, 8.
& xi. 18—
21. & xx.
25*

BUT waving what the Ebionites further urg'd, and, as you see, very unjustly concerning PAUL's dissimulation, let's now procede with incontestable matter of fact; and observe from the foregoing discourse of JAMES and the Elders to him, that all the Jews which became Christians were still Zealous for the Levitical Law. This Law they look'd upon to be no less national and political, than religious and sacred: that is to say, expressive of the history of their peculiar nation, essential to the being of their Theocracy or Republic, and aptly commemorating whatever befell their ancestors or their state; which, not regarding other people, they did not think them bound by the same, however indispensably subject to the Law of Nature. *Our teacher MOSES,*
says

says ⁵⁷ MAIMONIDES, *did not deliver the inheritance of the Law and the Ordinances, but to the Israelites onely; according to that of Deuteronomy, MOSES commanded us a Law, even the inheritance of the congregation of JACOB: and also to all those, who become Profelytes out of other nations; according to that of Numbers, as you are, so shall the stranger be. But no body, against his will, must be forc'd to embrace the Law and the Ordinances.* Besides this, the Jews were perswaded of the Law's eternal duration, of Circumcision's being an everlasting covenant, and of the Sabbath's being no less plainly deem'd than call'd such a covenant, not to speak of the passover, &c, from the manifold express declarations and promises of the *Old Testament*: and all this without any other limitation, but that of *the days of heaven upon earth*, and the final period of *their generations*, or the utmost date of time. They were further rooted in this persuasion from the repeated words and constant practice of JESUS, who they believ'd came not as a diminisher or an abolisher, but (as he himself openly profess) an accomplisher or perfecter of the Law, the restorer of the same, and a reformer of the abuses which had gradually crept in upon it: for the Pharisees had almost wholly perverted, transform'd, and made it of no effect, by their Traditions, Explications, and even Dispensations; as all Institutions (tho ever so sacred) come to be corrupted and disguiz'd in time, by men of weak or worldly minds. Thus therefore the Nazarens, following the precept and example of their master JESUS, concluded they might be very good Christians, yet still observe their own country rites (Sacrifices excepted)

Deut.
xxxiii.
4.

Num. xv.
15.

Gen. xvii.
7, 10, 13.
Exod. xxxi.
16, 17. &c.
xxix. 9. &
xl. 15.

Levit. vii.
36, &c.
Deut. iv. 1
40. & vi. 2.

Deut. xi.
21. Levit.
xl. 15, &c.

Mat. v. 17,
18, 19, 20.
& xv. 3, 6, 9.
Mar. vii. 7,
8, 9. Luc.
xvi. 17. &c.

57. Tractat. de Reg. cap. 8.

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BUT waving what the Ebionites further urg'd, and, as you see, very unjustly concerning PAUL's dissimulation, let's now procede with incontestable matter of fact; and observe from the foregoing discourse of JAMES and the Elders to him, that all the Jews which became Christians were still Zealous for the Levitical Law. This Law they look'd upon to be no less national and political, than religious and sacred: that is to say, expressive of the history of their peculiar nation, essential to the being of their Theocracy or Republic, and aptly commemorating whatever befell their ancestors or their state; which, not regarding other people, they did not think them bound by the same, however indispensably subject to the Law of Nature. *Our teacher MOSES,*
says

says ⁵⁷ **MAIMONIDES**, *did not deliver the inheritance of the Law and the Ordinances, but to the Israelites onely; according to that of Deuteronomy, Moses commanded us a Law, even the inheritance of the congregation of JACOB: and also to all those, who become Profelytes out of other nations; according to that of Numbers, as you are, so shall the stranger be. But no body, against his will, must be forc'd to embrace the Law and the Ordinances.* Besides this, the Jews were perswaded of the Law's eternal duration, of Circumcision's being an everlasting covenant, and of the Sabbath's being no less plainly deem'd than call'd such a covenant, not to speak of the passover, &c, from the manifold express declarations and promises of the *Old Testament*: and all this without any other limitation, but that of *the days of heaven upon earth*, and the final period of *their generations*, or the utmost date of time. They were further rooted in this persuasion from the repeated words and constant practice of **JESUS**, who they believ'd came not as a diminisher or an abolisher, but (as he himself openly profess) an accomplisher or perfecter of the Law, the restorer of the same, and a reformer of the abuses which had gradually crept in upon it: for the Pharisees had almost wholly perverted, transform'd, and made it of no effect, by their Traditions, Explications, and even Dispensations; as all Institutions (tho ever so sacred) come to be corrupted and disguiz'd in time, by men of weak or worldly minds. Thus therefore the Nazarens, following the precept and example of their master **JESUS**, concluded they might be very good Christians, yet still observe their own country rites (Sacrifices excepted)

Deut.
xxxiii.
4.

Num. xv.
15.

Gen. xvii.
7, 10, 13.
Exod. xxxi.
16, 17. &c.
xxix. 9. &c.
xl. 15.

Levit. vii.
36, &c.
Deut. iv. 1
40. & vi. 2.

Deut. xi.
21. Levit.
xl. 15, &c.

Mat. v. 17,
18, 19, 20.
& xv. 3, 6, 9.
Mar. vii. 7,
8, 9. Luc.
xvi. 17. &c.

⁵⁷. Tractat. de Reg. cap. 8.

there not being one word in any *Gospel* concerning the abolition of them, but directly the contrary in all others, as well as in their own *Gospel of the Hebrews* or of the twelve *Apostles*, as it was indifferently call'd. This is so manifest, that in the late disputes about *Occasional Conformity*, the example of *JESUS* and the *Apostles* has been alleg'd a thousand times, as continuing in the practice of the Jewish rites and worship, frequenting the Temple and the Synagogues, observing the solemn feasts and particularly the Passover, like the rest of their Countrymen. And this indeed is undeniable fact: the *Apostles* were so farr from condemning the Nazarens, that they confirm'd their doctrine by their own practice. But then I challenge any in the world to show me as plainly, that it was onely by way of prudential condescension for a certain season, as it is now taken for granted on all sides. I am as much as any man for *Occasional Conformity*, among Churches not differing in essentials; which was evidently the practice of the primitive Church most properly so call'd, and founded upon unanswerable grounds. *Toleration* also (in *Scripture*, among other names, call'd *Long-suffering* and *Forbearance*) is no less plainly a duty of the *Gospel*, than it is self-evident according to the Law of Nature: so that they who persecute others in their reputations, rights, properties, or persons, for merely speculative opinions, or for things in their own nature indifferent, are so farr equally devested both of Humanity and Christianity. But the present case is nothing at all to the matter, nor can there be any solution given of it (otherwise than on the foot of our scheme) that will not appear perfectly precarious, if not subject to several great inconveniences; as no other scheme can reconcile Christianity, and the promises of everlasting duration made

made in favor of the Jewish Law: which are poorly, I will not say sophistically, evaded, by making the words *eternal, everlasting, for ever, perpetual, and throout all generations*, to mean only *a great while*; that the way of Christ's *accomplishing the Law*, was to *abolish it*; and that *till heaven and earth shall pass, signify'd till the reign of TIBERIUS CESAR*. Consonant to both the example and the doctrine of JESUS and his Apostles is the judgment of JUSTIN MARTYR, who is very exprefs, and repeats it over and over; that the Jews believing on CHRIST may safely observe their own Law, provided they neither persuade nor force the Gentile Christians to do the same. Nay and he highly disapproves such of these last, as ^{s8} made a scruple of having any commerce and conversation with the first, or even to live in the same house with them. Tis true, he's of opinion the Nazarens were no longer under the obligation of their country Law: but he's so farr from damning or excommunicating them for their observation of it, as did most of the other *Fathers*; that, notwithstanding this mistake, he acknowledges them for brethren, and teaches communion with them in all things else. *If they will needs*, ^{s9} says he, *out of a weak opinion, observe*

58. Και μηδε κοινωνειν ὁμιλίας η ἑτίας τοις τοιούτοις τολμώντες, οἷς ἐγὼ οὐ συνανθ' εἰμι. In dialogo cum Tryphone Judaeo.

59. Ἀλλ' εἰαν αὐτοί, δια το ἀσθενές της γνώμης, καί τα ὅσα δυνανται νυν ἐκ των Μωσεως (ἀ δια το σκληροκαρδῆον του λαου νοουμεν διατεταχθαι) μετὰ του ἐπι τουτον τον χειρον ἐλπίζειν, καί τας αἰωνίους καί φύσει δικαιοπραξίας καί εὐσεβείας φυλασσειν βουλωνται, καί αἰρωνται συζῆν τοις χριστιανοις καί πῖσσις, ὡς πρὸς τὸν, μὴ πειθοντες αὐτους μὴτε πειτεμνεσθαι ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς, μὴτε σαββατίζειν, μὴτε ἀλλὰ, ὅσα τοιαῦτα ἐσὶ, τηρεῖν; καί περιλαμβανέσθαι, καί κοινωνεῖν ἅπαντων, ὁμῶς ὁμοσπλανχνοῖς καί ἀδελφοῖς, δεῖν αποφαινεσθαι. Id. Ibid.

whatever

whatever they can of the Laws of MOSES (which we think were ordain'd out of regard to the hardness of the people's hearts) and add to these their hope in JESUS, with the practice of the eternal and natural virtues of Justice and Piety; being further desirous to make one society with Christians and Believers (as I said before) yet so as not to persuade them to be circumcis'd like themselves, nor to keep the sabbath, nor to observe any such other of their rites: I think they ought not onely to be receiv'd, but likewise to be admitted to a communion of all things, as those of the same bowels and brethren. Tho I cannot approve his notion of their being in a mistake, yet I applaud his charity for bearing with them. AUGUSTIN, as we shall see hereafter, went further than JUSTIN; and maintain'd for some time the very notion that I now do, without any material difference: that the Christian Jews shou'd ever observe their own Laws, without imposing the Levitical ceremonies on the Gentiles. But the Jewish Believers did not in the least pretend, to oblige the Christians from among the Gentiles to the like things with themselves; as many wou'd inferr from one passage in the Acts of the Apostles, rashly ascribing the opinion of a few private persons to the whole Church. For after it is there related that certain men, which came from Judea, taught the brethren at Antioch, that except they were circumciz'd after the manner of MOSES, they cou'd not be sav'd; and that some of the believing Pharisees said, it was necessary to circumcise them, and to command them to keep the Law of MOSES: it was the sentence of the Apostles, given by the mouth of JAMES, that those shou'd not be trobl'd, which from among the Gentiles were
TURN'D TO GOD; *but that we write unto them (says he) that they abstain from pollutions of Idols, and from fornication, and from things strangl'd,*

strangl'd, and from blood. Here is no setting of the believing Jews free from the Law, but onely of the Christian Gentiles: and the last were enjoin'd the observation of these, not indifferent, but *necessary things*; without which there cou'd be no tolerable communication or commerce between them and the first. The greatest endearment shou'd ever reign among brethren. And what is it, I pray, but the non-observance of these precepts, that makes society so difficult a thing even at this time between the Christians and the Jews, tho the latter are in a sort of slavery to the former? It is a known observation, that there can never be any hearty fellowship, where people do'nt eat and drink together. This was evidently design'd in the ancient Sacrifices, national, urbi- cal, and familiar; as it was practis'd likewise in their solemn Treaties of peace or friendship, and was instituted in CHRIST's last Supper. I need not mention the primitive Love-feasts. But in the Apostolical decree no accommodation is hint- ed in the least, no time is limited either unto the one for quitting the old Law, or unto the other for neglecting the four Precepts; as is positively taught in all our Systems or Catechisms. When PETER preach'd the *Gospel* to CORNELIUS, a Gentile profelyte of the gate; and publickly declar'd, con- trary to the inveterate prejudices of many of the Jews, *that in every nation he that fears God, and works righteousness is accepted of him*: they were astonish'd at it, and expostulated with him for as much as eating with the Gentiles. But after- wards he gave full satisfaction to the Apostles and others at Jerusalem, as to his proceeding in this respect; and they were joyfully convinc'd, *that God had also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life*: this being the great MYSTERY, which

Ver. 28.

Acts x. 35.

Ver. 45.

Ibid. xi. 1,
2, 3.

Ver. 13.

as

Rom. xvi. as PAUL says more than once or twice, had been
 25. Ephes. hid from ages and generations, till it was now
 i. 9, 10. & manifested by the *Gospel*. But in all this account,
 iii. 3, 5, 6, there is not one word of PETER's subjecting
 9. Col. i. those converted Gentiles to the Mosaic Law,
 26, 27. nor of exempting the Jewish Christians from the
 observation of it: and tho he did eat with COR-
 NELIUS, it does not appear that he ate any
 thing prohibited by the Law; any more than
 those Jews do, with whom we eat, and who eat
 with us, every day. Thus therefore THE RE-
 PUBLIC OF MOSES might still have subsisted
 entire, such as it was, or rather ought to have
 been, in Judea, and yet the inhabitants be very
 good Christians too: requiring no more from
 their brethren of the Gentiles that liv'd among
 them (and agreed with them in the main article
 of the unity of the Deity, as well as in other
 important tho not so essential points) than a strict
 abstinence from the four things now mention'd,
 which were likewise originally prohibited by the
 Jewish Law to their *Profelytes of Justice*.

C H A P. XIII.

THIS Abstinence from blood and things
 strangl'd, was the undoubted sense of all
 the primitive Christians: and did not only conti-
 nue in all places (as it does still in the Eastern
 Churches) till AUGUSTIN's time; but, even
 till the eleventh century, in most parts of the
 Western Church. Cardinal HUMBERT, who
 wrote about the middle of that century, amply
 justifys the Latin against the Greec Church, as
 to

to this point; for retaining (says ⁶⁰ he) the ancient usage or tradition of our ancestors, we in like manner do abominate these things: insomuch that a severe penance is impos'd on those, who, without extreme peril of life, do at any time feed on blood, or any animal dead of it self, either choak'd in the waters, or strangl'd by what accident soever. I admire how those persons can herein be satisfy'd in their consciences, or by virtue of what nice distinction they can coin to themselves a dispensation from this abstinence; who make the practice of the primitive Church to be the best commentary on *Scripture*, when the doctrine of it too is so express and uniform in this respect. But I have ever observ'd, that they, who make the loudest pretences this way, are either the farthest of all others from primitive practice, or the least acquainted with primitive history. What is it, I pray, that has the *Fathers*, that has Tradition and Succession more or as much of its side, as this very Abstinence? It was commanded in an assembly of the *Apostles*, without limitation of time. 'Tis injoin'd in the ⁶¹ *Canons* antiently attributed to them. 'Tis alleg'd as a proof of their innocence by the first *Apologists* of Christianity, to all whom, that mention it, I appeal without exception; which makes particular citations unnecessary, as they wou'd make my *Letter* too prolix. 'Tis confirm'd by the Decrees of several *Councils*; and has been defended by some of the

60. Antiquam etenim consuetudinem, seu traditionem majorum nostrorum, diligenter retinentes, nos quoque haec abominamur: adeo ut sanguine, vel quocunque morticino, aut aquis seu quacunque negligentia praefocato, apud nos aliquando vescentibus, absque extremo periculo vitae hujus, poenitentia gravis imponatur. In bibliotheca Patrum, tom. 4. pag. 202.

61. Can. 63, aliis vero 52.

Gen. ix.
3, 4.

most learned men in the last century. The citations, I say, wou'd be endless. Not to speak of HUGO GROTIUS, CLAUDIUS SALMASIUS, or GERARD JOHN VOSSIUS (what mighty names!) the great STEPHEN CURCELLEUS has written an elaborate discourse on this ⁶² subject, wherein he shows abstinence from blood to have continu'd in many places to almost his own time; and CHRISTIAN BECMANNUS made a Theological Exercitation to the same ⁶³ purpose before CURCELLEUS. They all maintain'd it was no part of the ceremonial Law of the Jews, but ⁶⁴ a Noachic precept, equally binding all the world upon a moral account. The words spoken to NOAH and his sons (and consequently, say they, to all mankind) in the ninth chapter of *Genesis*, are these: *every moving thing that lives shall be meat for you, even as the green herb have I given you all things; but flesh with the life therof, which is the blood therof, shall you not eat.* This indeed is confirm'd in the Levitical Law, tho properly no part of the same according to those Gentlemen, a great many other moral duties being occasionally mention'd there; and they think it observable, that, thro-out the whole *Pentateuch*, the Stranger as well as the Jew are forbidden to eat the blood of any manner of flesh (as being the

62. Diatriba de esu sanguinis.

63. Exercitat. 26.

64. The Jews maintain that NOAH and his children, did, before the flood, govern themselves by the six following precepts, as an abstract of the Law of Nature, viz. I. Not to worship Idols, or any other creature. II. Not to blaspheme God, or his holy name. III. Not to shed Blood, or not to kill. IV. Not to commit incest, or adultery. V. Not to rob or steal. VI. To appoint Judges, who shou'd see these precepts duely executed: to which the Rabbins add a VIIth, as commanded after the flood, namely, Not to eat the member of any living creature.

life or soul therof) under the penalty of being *cut off from his people*, or, in plainer language, of being sent into banishment: for the deservedly famous Mr. LE CLERC has, in all the texts where it occurs, prov'd this ⁶⁵ phrase of being *cut off from his people*, to signify disfranchising and banishing quite out of the countrey; but not to dy an untimely death, and much less to be eternally damn'd, in one or both which senses most people have absurdly learnt to understand it. This prohibition of eating blood, is repeated in several places of the *Pentateuch*; chiefly, as is suppos'd by those who allow not the moral reason, to create a horror against the shedding of human blood, as well as for the avoiding of unwholsom or infectious diet: and being in the *Apostolical decree* neither restrain'd to any time, nor counted an indifferent, but plainly *a necessary thing*; there are still many Christians here in the West who think themselves as much bound to refrain from things stragl'd and from blood, as from meats offer'd to idols and from fornication, which are join'd together as of equal obligation. I said, that I wonder'd by what distinction certain moderns cou'd justify themselves, in their eating of birds caught in gins, black puddings, and such other things; and yet a distinction there is, but on which neither they, nor the *primitive Apologists* cou'd ever hit, or at least wou'd never stick to it, by reason of their being utter strangers to the true constitution of the THE MOSAIC REPUBLIC: for the case out of Judea, or any place where the Jews and Gentiles don't cohabit in one society, is quite another

Gen. xvii.
14. & alibi
passim.

Levit. iii.
17. & vii.
26. xvii.
10 — 14.
& xix. 26.
Deut. xii.
16, 23. &
xv. 23.

Acts xv.
28.

65. In Genesi suo, ad versum 14 capitis 17, & in Commentariis ad reliquos Pentateuchi libros.

thing.

thing. They are not all strangers indefinitely,
 Levit. xvii. but expressly *the strangers who shou'd sojourn among*
 10—14. *the Israelites*, that are forbid to eat blood: and so
 farr were these points concerning blood, or things
 strangl'd, from being parts of the moral Law;
 Deut. xiv. 21. strangers and aliens, *that they might eat them*:
 which wou'd be highly immoral, were their own
 abstinence from eating such things grounded on
 the Law of nature. And just as they granted
 this liberty to aliens, and to *Profelytes of the gate*,
 or those strangers, who, tho believing in one
 God, yet were not circumcis'd, but worshipt in
 the outer court of the Temple, not conforming
 to the *Jewish Law*: so the Egyptians, who, no
 less than the Jews, had the distinction of meats
 clean and unclean, us'd to sell the ⁶⁶ head of the
 sacrific'd beast to strangers, it being to themselves
 an abomination and an accursed thing. But as
 for the *Profelytes of justice*, or those strangers,
 who not onely were settl'd among the Jews, and
 inhabitants of their cities, but also receiv'd Cir-
 cumcision as well as the belief of one God, and
 did in every thing conform to the Jewish Law;
 they were bound in all parts of social life (as in
 the feast of the passover, and in meat and drink-
 offerings particularly) to comply in the strictest
 sense with the establish'd Laws and Customs.
 One Law, says MOSES speaking of these very
 things, *and one Manner shall be for you, and for*
the stranger that sojourneth with you: which is
 there directly call'd *a perpetual ordinance*. To
 this purpose also MAIMONIDES, as above-

Exod. xii.
 48, 49.
 Num. ix.
 14.
 Ibid. xv.
 16.

66. Κεφαλή δ'εκείνου πολλά καταρνησάμενοι, φέρουσι τοῖσι
 μεν αὐτῇ ἀγορῇ, καὶ Ἕλληνες σφι εἶναι ἐπιδήμιοι ἐμποροί; οἱ
 δὲ φεροντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὴν, ἀπ'ὧν ἐδόντο. Herodot. l. 2. c. 39.
 cited.

cited. Of the same nature and necessity therefore Pag. 39.
 was the case of the Jewish and Gentile Christi-
 ans, who, in the infancy of Christianity, made
 up one Church or society at Antioch; as it wou'd
 be again so, shou'd all the Jews become Christi-
 ans, and be resettl'd in Judea: and upon a due
 examination the general prohibition in *Genesis* will
 be found to be no barr to this doctrine; as many
 other seeming generals there, were written never-
 theless with special regard to the people of Isra-
 el, and to them onely. Of such general prohi-
 bitions, yet onely meaning the particular usages
 of the Jews, L E C L E R C will afford you many
 instances in his most learned *Commentary* before
 quoted. And therefore P A U L writing to the Pag. 47.
 Corinthian Gentiles, with whom the Jews were
 not so much intermixt, tells that *meat commend-* 1 Cor. viii.
eth us not to God; for neither if we eat are we the 8, 9.
better, neither if we eat not are we the worse: but
take heed, lest by any means this liberty of yours be-
come a stumbling-block to them that are weak. This
 scandalizing of others (whether about eating of
 blood, or about meat offer'd to idols) was all that
 wise men had to avoid, as P A U L further ac-
 quaints the same Christians, saying, *whatsoever is* Ibid. x.
sold in the shambles that eat, asking no question for 25, 26, 27,
conscience sake: for the earth is the Lord's, and the 28, 29, 32.
fullness therof. If any of them that believe not, bid
you to a feast, and you be dispos'd to go; whatsoever
is set before you eat, asking no question for conscience
sake: but if any man say unto you, this is offer'd
in sacrifice to Idols, eat not for his sake that shou'd
it and for conscience sake (for the earth is the Lord's
and the fullness therof) Conscience, I say, not thine
own, but of the others; for why is my liberty judg'd
of another man's conscience? — Give none offence,
neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the
Church of God. This regard to the Jews and to
 E their

their observations is so evident every where, that I wonder it cou'd ever become a subject of controversy: but the true reason is, the belief which so early obtain'd, that the Levitical Law was quite abolisht, and that the Jews were no more oblig'd to keep it than the Gentiles. This is the source of numberless errors, to the great depravation of Christianity; and this, with relation to the eating of blood in particular (after recommending the whole fourteenth chapter *to the Romans* to your perusal) may be easily made out against the *primitive Apologists* and *Fathers*, as well as against CURCELLEUS, Mr. WHISTON, and such others: who, for want of observing the said distinction of Jewish and Gentile Christians, have run into one extreme; as they, who limit the prohibition to a certain time, absolving all men and in all places alike, have run into another. But the first extreme is the more tolerable of the two, not onely for being the least mischievous in its consequences, and that the Jewish Christians are still oblig'd to this abstinence; but as being withall both innocent and wholsom, as well as easy enough in its practice. But to return, the fifteenth chapter of *the Acts* cou'd not but be a strong prejudice in behalf of the Ebionites, and the stronger, as being the testimony of a book they believ'd compil'd in favor of PAUL: besides

1 Pet. i. 1. that PETER in his *first Epistle* (indisputably address'd to the believing Jews) calls them *a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people*. He does not say they were formerly such, but shou'd be accounted so no longer; he desires 'em, on the contrary, *to have their conversation honest among the Gentiles*, from whom they were therefore to be distinct: so that they might still enjoy all the prerogatives and distinctions of their nation, no less than in Judea (the Temple and

and Sacrifices excepted) as a separate people even among the Gentiles, and yet be very true Christians also.

C H A P. XIV.

THIS, I am persuaded, was in this particular point (for I approve of no men's errors) the genuin Theology of the Nazarens; however mistaken or misrepresented by the Christians from among the Gentiles, as if they wou'd have them likewise to observe the whole Law of MOSES. They indeed in their turn may have mistaken PAUL's meaning, *in whose Epistles are some things hard to be understood*, as is well remark'd in the *second Epistle* attributed to PETER. But if the Nazarens did so mistake PAUL, the Gentiles have sufficiently reveng'd their Apostle's quarrel. The *Fathers* are shamefully inconsistent, both with one another and each with himself, concerning the Ebionites: splitting them where they ought to be united (as they unite them where they ought to be split) turning their blessings sometimes into curses, and making their godly prayers to pass for diabolical conjurations. The Gentile Christians (as I have said more than once) shew'd on all occasions an inexpressible hatred against those from among the Jews, even to the speaking many times irreverently if not profanely of the Law; tho they were acknowledg'd debtors to the Nazarens for the *Gospel*, the Jewish Church having been form'd, before any Gentiles had embrac'd Christianity. But none of any sort has treated them with more undisguiz'd rancor than EPIPHANIUS, the most ignorant and partial of all Historians; as has been made out in multitudes of instances by the best writers of the two last and the present century,

E 2

will be divided into many opinions. Nor do I know this thing as being a prophet, but as seeing even now the beginning of this very evil: for some from among the Gentiles have rejected my Legal preaching; embracing the trifling and Lawless doctrine of a man, who is an enemy. And these things some have endeavor'd to do now in my own life-time, transforming my words by various interpretations to the destruction of the Law; as if I had been of the same mind, but durst not openly profess it, which be farr from me. For this were to act against the Law of God spoken by Moses, and which has the testimony of our Lord for its perpetual duration, since he thus has said: heaven and earth shall pass away, yet one jot or one tittle shall not pass from the Law. And this he said, that all might be fulfill'd. But these, I know not how, promising to deliver my opinion, take upon them to explain the words they heard from me, better than I that spoke them; telling their disciples my sense was that, of which I have not so much as thought. Now, if in my own life-time they dare feign such things; how much more will those, that come after me, do the same? This most remarkable and incontestably ancient piece, with others at least as ancient, which I cou'd cite were it needful, do manifestly show; that this notion of PAUL's having wholly metamorphos'd and perverted the true Christianity (as some of the Heretics have exprest it) and his being blam'd for so doing by the other Apostles, especially by JAMES and PETER, is neither an original invention of the Mahometans, nor any sign of the novelty of their Gospel: but rather a strong presumption of its antiquity, at least as to some parts of it; since this was the constant language and profession of the most ancient Sects, as I shall convince you beyond any room for doubt.

See Gal. ii.
11, 12, 13,
14.

Mat. v. 18.
Luke xvi.
17.

See Gal. as
above.

C H A P. IX.

TO set this matter therefore in the clearest light, it is to be noted, that the Ebionites call'd P A U L *an Apostate from the Law*; and rejected all his *Epistles*, as those of an Enemy and an Impostor. This is recorded by ³⁴ O R I G E N ³⁵ and E U S E B I U S, which shows that E P I P H A N I U S (whose testimony we shall produce hereafter) is neither the only, nor the first, nor without an author, that said this of the Ebionites, as the acute Mr. N Y E has too positively affirm'd in his *Judgement of the Fathers*; denying this of O-
R I G E N by name, whom I have this moment quoted for it. The like charge against P A U L is acknowleg'd of the Nazarens, who were the same people under another name, or rather this of N A Z A R E N S is the only name they own'd: and both of 'em, if they must needs be made two, were the first converts among the Jews to Christianity; that is to say, the first Christians, and consequently the only Christians for some time. Mr. S E L D E N, never to be mention'd without honor, shows, that at least for the space of seven years after the death of C H R I S T, none of the Gentiles embrac'd his doctrine; all his followers, till the conversion of C O R N E L I U S the Centurion, who was a profelyte of the gate, having been of the Jewish ³⁶ nation and religion. Pag. 35.
Acts x. 47,
48.

34. Contra Cels. l. 5.

35. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 27. 'Ουτοι δε τα μεν Αποστολς πασας τας Επισολας αρνηταις; ηγουντο ειναι δειν, Αποσταταν αποκα- λευντες αυτον τα νομου. Item Nicephor. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 4. Videatur & ejusdem l. 5. c. 12.

36. De Synedriis, l. 1. n. 8.

Now,

will be divided into many opinions. Nor do I know this thing as being a prophet, but as seeing even now the beginning of this very evil: for some from among the Gentiles have rejected my Legal preaching; embracing the trifling and Lawless doctrine of a man, who is an enemy. And these things some have endeavor'd to do now in my own life-time, transforming my words by various interpretations to the destruction of the Law; as if I had been of the same mind, but durst not openly profess it, which be farr from me. For this were to act against the Law of God spoken by Moses, and which has the testimony of our Lord for its perpetual duration, since he thus has said: heaven and earth shall pass away, yet one jot or one tittle shall not pass from the Law. And this he said, that all might be fulfill'd. But these, I know not how, promising to deliver my opinion, take upon them to explain the words they heard from me, better than I that spoke them; telling their disciples my sense was that, of which I have not so much as thought. Now, if in my own life-time they dare feign such things; how much more will those, that come after me, do the same? This most remarkable and incontestably ancient piece, with others at least as ancient, which I cou'd cite were it needful, do manifestly shew; that this notion of PAUL's having wholly metamorphos'd and perverted the true Christianity (as some of the Heretics have exprest it) and his being blam'd for so doing by the other Apostles, especially by JAMES and PETER, is neither an original invention of the Mahometans, nor any sign of the novelty of their Gospel: but rather a strong presumption of its antiquity, at least as to some parts of it; since this was the constant language and profession of the most ancient Sects, as I shall convince you beyond any room for doubt.

See Gal. ii.
11, 12, 13,
14.

Mat. v. 18.
Luke xvi.
17.

See Gal. as
above.

C H A P. IX.

TO set this matter therefore in the clearest light, it is to be noted, that the Ebionites call'd **PAUL** *an Apostate from the Law*; and rejected all his *Epistles*, as those of an Enemy and an Impostor. This is recorded by ³⁴ **ORIGEN** ³⁵ and **EUSEBIUS**, which shows that **EPIPHANIUS** (whose testimony we shall produce hereafter) is neither the only, nor the first, nor without an author, that said this of the Ebionites, as the acute Mr. **NYE** has too positively affirm'd in his *Judgement of the Fathers*; denying this of **ORIGEN** by name, whom I have this moment quoted for it. The like charge against **PAUL** is acknowleg'd of the Nazarens, who were the same people under another name, or rather this of **NAZARENS** is the only name they own'd: and both of 'em, if they must needs be made two, were the first converts among the Jews to Christianity; that is to say, the first Christians, and consequently the only Christians for some time. Mr. **SELDEN**, never to be mention'd without honor, shows, that at least for the space of seven years after the death of **CHRIST**, none of the Gentiles embrac'd his doctrine; all his followers, till the conversion of **CORNELIUS** the Centurion, who was a profelyte of the gate, having been of the Jewish ³⁶ nation and religion. Pag. 35.
Acts x. 47,
48.

34. Contra Cels. l. 5.

35. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 27. 'Ουτοι δε τε μεν Αποστολς πασας τας Επισολας αρνηταις ηγουντο ειναι δειν, Αποσταταν αποκαλυντες αυτον τε νομου. Item Nicephor. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 4. Videatur & ejusdem l. 5. c. 12.

36. De Synedriis, l. 1. n. 8.

Now,

Ibid. x. 38 & iii. 6. & iv. 10. Now, these Jewish converts were term'd Nazarens from *JESUS of Nazareth*, as it appears that all the first Christians were so; since *PAUL* himself is, in *the Acts of the Apostles*, call'd a *ringleader of the Heresy of the Nazarens*. *EPIPHANIUS* not only affirms, *that all Christians were at* ³⁷ *first by the Jews term'd Nazarens, and even by the Apostles themselves, PETER saying, JESUS of Nazareth, a man approv'd of God, &c:* but also *that the NAZARENS took this name to* ³⁸ *themselves, but not that of JESSEANS after JESUS, nor of CHRISTIANS after CHRIST; and that all Christians whatsoever were stil'd Nazarens, before they were call'd Christians at Antioch. TERTULLIAN speaks to the same* ³⁹ *purpose. They were likewise call'd by way of content EBIONITES or beggars (just as the first Protestants in Flanders Gueux) which is very evident, not only from the silence of IRENEUS concerning any such person as EBION, but also from the express testimonies of* ⁴⁰ *ORIGEN and EUSEBIUS, that they were thus nick-nam'd because of their mean condition: and even from the Hebrew word* *עביון* *it self, which signifies poor, and was a most proper epithet of the first Christians; as*

37. Ναζωραίων, ὁ ἐστὶ χριστιανῶν, ὁ κληθεὶς ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων χριστιανισμῷ, καὶ ὑπὸ αὐτῶν τῶν Ἀποστόλων, λεγόντῳ Πέτρῳ, Ἰησοῦν τὸν Ναζωραῖον, ἀνδρᾶ ἀποδείδειγμένον ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, &c. Haeref. 19. n. 4.

38. Οὗτοι γὰρ [οἱ Ναζωραῖοι] ἑαυτοῖς ὄνομα ἐπέθεντο, ὡς χριστοὶ, ὅτε αὐτὸ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ἀλλὰ Ναζωραίων; καὶ πάντες δὲ χριστιανοὶ Ναζωραῖοι τότε ὁσαύτως ἐκαλεῖντο. Id Haeref. 29. n. 1. & *ibid.* n. 6, 7.

39. Nazaraeus vocari habebat, secundum prophetiam, Christus creatoris: unde & ipso nomine nos Judaei Nazaraeos appellant per eum. *Contra Marcion.* l. 4. c. 8.

40. Origen. contra Cels. l. 2. & Philocal. c. 1. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 27.

JAMES asks the question concerning them, *has* Jam. ii. 5. *not God chosen the POOR of this world, rich in faith*; and as CHRIST order'd JOHN to be told, *that the Gospel was preach'd to the POOR*; Mat. xi. 5. or, to say it in Hebrew, to the *Ebionites*. Yet לאביונים afterwards some persons, that were equally ignorant of the Jewish language and of the Christian history, ridiculously invented a certain EBION (of whom they tell very formal stories) to be the author of the Ebionites; as they saw several other Sects had peculiar founders, of whom they deriv'd their appellation. But we ought much sooner to believe the Ebionites themselves about their own name of Nazarens, and nick-name of Ebionites, than JEROM, or EPIPHANIUS, or any other of their enemies; who either did not know them enough, or wilfully and maliciously misrepresented them. Others again, who cou'd no more digest this very gross account, than content themselves with the lovely simplicity of truth, insinuated that those first Christians were call'd Ebionites from their ⁴¹ poor and low notions of CHRIST's person: a derivation as farr fetcht as any other, and which diverse learned men have deservedly exploded. Nevertheless, whatever confusion and diversity may be observ'd concerning them in IRENEUS, JUSTIN MARTYR, EUSEBIUS, EPIPHANIUS, AUGUSTIN, THEODORET, and others of those they call the old *Fathers*, tis constantly agreed among them, *that the Nazarens and Ebionites affirm'd JESUS to have been a mere man, as well by the father as the mother's side, namely the Son of JOSEPH*

41. Εβ'ωναιοὺς τοὺτους οἰκειῶς ἐπεσημίζον οἱ πρῶτοι πτωχοὶ καὶ ταπεινοὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Χεὶρ δόξαζοντες. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. l. 3. c. 27.

‘ and MARY; but that he was ⁴² just, and wise,
 ‘ and excellent, above all other persons, meriting to
 ‘ be peculiarly call’d THE SON OF GOD, by
 ‘ reason of his most virtuous life and extraordinary en-
 ‘ dowments: and that they join’d with their Chri-
 ‘ stian profession, the necessity of circumcision, of
 ‘ the observation of the sabbath, and of the other
 ‘ Jewish ceremonies; which necessity must be un-
 derstood only of the Jewish Christians, for the
 reasons I shall produce by and by. EUSEBIUS
 says, that some few of ’em in his time (that is, in
 the fourth century) believ’d, like the Gentile Chri-
 stians, the mother of CHRIST to have been a
⁴³ Virgin; and that he was conceiv’d by virtue of
 the Spirit of God, tho still but a mere man (which
 is just the Socinianism of our times) but that they
 enjoin’d the observation of the Legal ceremonies,
 as strictly as the others. There were diversities
 of opinion among ’em, no doubt, no less than a-
 mong other societies, as this same distinction is as
 old as ORIGEN’s time: yet tho these latter were
 a quite different sort from the former, as the best
 Critics fairly acknowledge; they rejected PAUL’S
Epistles equally with the others, and were as high-
 ly irritated ⁴⁴ against him. But the *Fathers* acted
 with inexcusable confusion and injustice, to call
 men professing two such contrary sentiments by
 the same name of Ebionites, if such a Heretic as
 EBION had ever existed; which some of ’em,
 as I said, did most ignorantly averr, especially JE-
 ROM and EPIPHANIUS: tho the Ebionites

42. Iren. l. 1. c. 26. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 27. Epiphan.
 Haeres. 7. n. 2. 28. n. 1. & 30. n. 2, 18. Theodoret. Haeret. fab.
 l. 2. c. 1, 2. cum reliquis.

43. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 27. *Idem dicunt* Origen. contra Cels. l.
 2. Hieronym. in Epist. ad Augustin. & Theodoret. in loco jam
 potato.

44. Origen contra Cels. l. 5.

themselves (as even EPIPHANIUS ⁴⁵ confesses, who yet will not believe them) deny'd any such EBION; and glory'd in their name, alledging their poverty was occasion'd by the laying of all their substance at the Apostles feet, for the first and most powerful support of Christianity, by a community of goods. These Nazarens therefore or Ebionites were mortal enemies to PAUL, whom they stil'd *an Apostate* (as we saw just now) and ⁴⁶ *a transgressor of the Law*: representing him as an intruder on the genuin Christianity, and, tho a stranger to the person of CHRIST, yet substituting his own pretended Revelations to the doctrines of those with whom CHRIST had convers'd, and to whom he actually communicated his will. This is the sum of what we certainly know concerning them; for in other things, one or two points excepted, the *Fathers* are not of accord. Moreover, the Christians are to this day by the Arabians and Persians call'd NAZARI, and NOZERIM by the Jews, who call'd them at the beginning (as I suppose upon occasion they do still) MINEANS or Heretics: מִינִיּוֹת since all sectaries, of all sorts, are so nam'd by them; and that Christianity was then reckon'd but a Jewish Heresy, tho it was rather truely and properly their Reformation. The Nazarens or Mineans, whose Churches flourish'd over all the ⁴⁷ east, us'd to be curs'd by the Jews in their synagogues, at morning, noon, and evening pray-

Acts ii.

44, 45. &

iv. 34, 35, &c.

45. Haeref. 30. n. 17.

46. Hieronym. in cap. 12. Matth.

47. Usque hodie per totas Orientis Synagogas inter Judaeos haereticus est, quae dicitur MINAEORUM, & a Phariseis nunc usque damnatur, quos vulgò Nazaracos nuncupabant. Hieronym. in Epist. ad Augustin.

ers, under this very name of ⁴⁸ Nazarens; as being excommunicate persons, and apostates from their body. In effect, they were commonly confounded together by the Heathens, even a good while after the Gentile converts made another Church: nor is SELDEN the only person, that, in later times, has asserted CHRISTIANITY to be no more than ⁴⁹ REFORMED JUDAISM; the true religion being one and the same in substance from the beginning, tho in circumstances the Institutions of it at different times be different, and consequently more or less perfect. But we must not forget how his adversaries us'd the Apostle of the Gentiles.

C H A P. X.

NOR does PAUL deny the charge of the Ebionites, that he did not learn *his Gospel* (a phrase familiar to him) from those who were immediately taught by CHRIST himself. For he tells the Galatians plainly, that *the Gospel which he preach'd was not after man; for I neither receiv'd it of man* (says he) *neither was I taught it but by the revelation of JESUS CHRIST: neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were Apostles before me, but I went into Arabia and Damascus. Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see PETER, and abode with him fifteen days; but other of the Apostles saw I none, save JAMES the*

Rom. ii.
16. & xvi.
25. Gal. i.
11. & ii.
2. 2 Tim.
ii. 8.
Gal. i. 11,
12.
Ver. 17,
18, 19.

48. Usque hodie perseverant in blasphemiiis, & ter per singulos dies in omnibus Synagogis, sub nomine Nazaraeorum, anathematizant vocabulum Christianum. *Id. in Isaiam, cap. 5. ver. 18.*

49. Nec disciplina illa apud eos alia, quam Judaismus verè Reformatus, seu cum fide in Messiam, seu Christum, ritè conjunctus. *De Synedr. l. 1. c. 8.*

Lord's brother. And so he went on preaching this Gospel to the Gentiles, as he informs us in the same *Epistle* and elsewhere; expressly absolving them (and, as tis now generally believ'd, the Jews themselves) from Circumcision and all the Levitical ceremonies, against which he strenuously argues every where. Then he declares, how that *fourteen years after he went again to Jerusalem, and communicated unto them that Gospel, which he had preach'd among the Gentiles; yet but privately to them who were of reputation, for fear* Ibid. ii. 1, 2.

of those who did not approve of the liberty he preach'd from the Jewish ceremonies. Next he tells of what pass'd between him and the other Apostles, who, tho they seem'd to be somewhat, in conference added nothing to him: but contrarywise, Ver. 2.

says he, when they (that is, JAMES, and CEPHAS, and JOHN, who seem'd to be pillars) saw that THE GOSPEL OF THE UNCIRCUMCISION was committed unto me, as THE GOSPEL OF THE CIRCUMCISION was unto PETER, and perceiv'd the grace that was given unto me; they gave to me and BARNABAS the right hands of fellowship, that we shou'd go unto the HEATHEN, and they unto the CIRCUMCISION. Ver. 6, 7, 8, 9.

This consent of JAMES, PETER, and the rest, the Ebionites flatly deny'd; maintaining, that if these had approv'd of PAUL's practice, they wou'd as well have gone in that manner to the Gentiles themselves, which cou'd be no less than the duty of some of them: and that his rivalling of PETER and JAMES for superiority, being ambitious to be the head of a party, is undeniable from these his own declarations. They further objected that he gave onely his own word for his revelations; and that some few miracles recorded in *the Acts of the Apostles* were no demonstration of his

his

Ver. 11.

Ver. 12.

As above,
page 24.

Ver. 13.

his mission, for a reason we shall allege presently, which reason consists in the opinion they had of this book. But to go on with PAUL's account, *when PETER (says he) was come to Antioch, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blam'd; since he had already, it seems, departed from the foresaid consent, recorded also in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles: for before that certain came from JAMES (adds PAUL here to the Galatians) he did eat with the Gentiles; but when they were come, he withdrew and separated himself, fearing them which were of the CIRCUMCISION.* This account the Ebionites again rejected as contradictory, since JAMES was one of those, that according to PAUL himself, had approv'd of his preaching to the Gentiles: and yet now they were those, who came from JAMES, that made PETER withdraw from the Gentiles. There's but one way in the world of reconciling these things, which we shall see a little further, and firmly hope it will satisfy the most incredulous. The Nazarens or Ebionites (for I use these words promiscuously) wou'd likewise probably say, it was this very misrepresentation of his sense, that PETER meant in his fore-cited Letter to JAMES. And tis indeed more than probable, when PETER says there, *that certain took upon them to explain his words better than himself, giving out that he was of their mind, but durst not openly profess so much;* tis pritty plain, I say, that the author of this Letter had that passage in his view, where PAUL, as we saw just now, charges PETER with not daring to own his opinion, for fear of them which were of the Circumcision: adding, *that the other Jews dissembled likewise with them, inso-much that BARNABAS was carry'd away with their dissimulation.* But we ought not slightly to run

run over this passage, since from the history of the Nazarens we shall take occasion (and a very natural occasion it is) to set **THE ORIGINAL PLAN OF CHRISTIANITY** in its proper light; the want of which made it a Mystery to both Jew and Gentile, before the declaration of it by **JESUS**: but since that declaration it ceases to be longer a **MYSTERY** to any, but to such as love darkness better than the light; or that take upon them to teach others, what they profess not to understand themselves. Whereas, after the manifestation of it by the *Gospel*, nothing is more intelligible or conceivable, as nothing is more amiable or interesting, than the true and genuine Christianity: so plain and perspicuous indeed, that it was preach'd at the very beginning to men of the most ordinary capacities; who were not puzzl'd but enlightn'd, not banter'd but thoroly instructed.

C H A P. XI.

TO be *carry'd away* therefore here (**MEGALETOR**) must signify purely by opinion, or difference of sentiments, and not by any separation of company: or else it wou'd be a contradiction to the reason of the contest between **PAUL** and **BARNABAS**, that is given in *the Acts of the Apostles*; the time and the place, at Antioch, being unquestionably the same. For in the *Acts*, **BARNABAS** (who first entertain'd and introduc'd **PAUL** to the Apostles, whereas before none wou'd receive him, nor believe him to be a disciple) is represented all along as his fellow-Apostle to the Gentiles, without showing the least scruple in this affair of the Levitical rites. He was deputed with him from the Church of Antioch, to represent the

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state of this same controversy to the Apostles at Jerusalem; and came back again in his company with the determination they made in this case, wherein he's ever mention'd as of PAUL's side. Then follows this different account of the quarrel *Ibid. xv. 36, 37, &c.* in these words. PAUL said unto BARNABAS, *let us go again, and visit our brethren in every city, where we have preach'd the word of the Lord, and see how they do. And BARNABAS determin'd to take with them JOHN, whose Surname was MARK: and PAUL thought not good to take him with them, who departed from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work. And the contention was so sharp between them, that they departed asunder one from the other: and so BARNABAS took* ⁵⁰ MARK, *and sail'd unto Cyprus; and PAUL chose SILAS, and departed. This is quite another story, and we learn from it that BARNABAS now preach'd apart; which probably gave a handle to Impostors, of framing a Gospel in his name. But the Ebionites did not trouble themselves with this difference seeming or real, nor with any thing else in the Acts of the Apostles, which they reject- ed as a* ⁵¹ *spurious piece; not deserving the title, were the contents of it true: since nothing was said therein of many of the Apostles, and compara- tively very little of PETER or JAMES, being almost wholly taken up about PAUL. Neither did the* ⁵² *Cerinthians (a branch of the Ebionites) any more than the* ⁵³ *Marcionites, acknowledge it: and the Ebionites had very different Acts of the Apostles, wherein it was recorded, among other*

⁵⁰. *His Sister's Son*, Col. 4. 10.

⁵¹. Epiphan. *Haeref.* 30. n. 16.

⁵². Philastr. *Haeref.* 36.

⁵³. Tertullian. *contra Marcion.* l. 5. c. 2.

things, that ⁵⁴ PAUL was of Tarsus, which he owns and denies not, says EPIPHANIUS. It was added, that he was originally a Heathen, from that passage where it is truly said by him, I am a man of Acts xxi. Tarsus, a citizen of no mean city; whence they con- 39. clude him, to have been a Heathen both by the father and mother's side. It was further affirm'd in those Acts that he came to Jerusalem, stay'd there for some time, and had a mind to marry the High Priest's daughter; on the account of which he became a proselyte, and was circumcis'd (contrary to what Phil. iii. 5. he relates of himself in his Epistle to the Philippi- Acts xxiii. ans, as well as often elsewhere) but that afterwards 6. Rom. xi. 1, 2 Cor. xi. 22, &c. not obtaining the young woman, he was angry, and wrote against Circumcision, against the Sabbath, and against the keeping of the Law. The Ebionites likewise retorted the charge of dissimulation on PAUL himself, not onely in circumcising TIMO- Acts xvi. 1, THY, tho the son of a Heathen, because of the 2, 3. Jews that dwelt at Lystra and Iconium; but particularly as to his conduct on another occasion, which was thus. After he had gone up to Jerusalem, and declar'd to JAMES and all the Elders, what had past in his ministry among the Gentiles, Ibid. xxi. they said unto him: thou seest, brother, how many 20—26. thousands of the Jews there are which believe, and they are ALL zealous of the Law (as we shew'd be-

54. Ταρσεα μεν αυτον, ως αυτος ὁμολογεῖ καὶ οὐκ ἀρνείται, λεγοντες: ἐξ Ἑλληνων δὲ αυτον ὑποτιθενται, λαβοντες την προφασιν ἐκ τῆ τοπικῆ δια το φιλαληθες ὑπ' αυτου ρηθεν, ὅτι Ταρσευς εἰμι, οὐκ ἀσημου πολεως πολιτης. Εἰτα φασκουσιν αυτον εἶναι Ἕλληνα, καὶ Ἑλληνιδος μητρος καὶ Ἑλληνος πατρος παιδα: ἀναβεβηκεναι δὲ εἰς Ἱερουσολυμα, καὶ χερνον ἐκεῖ μεμενηκεναι, ἐπιτεθυμηκεναι δὲ θυγατερα τῆ Ἱερεως προς γαμον ἀγαγεσαι, καὶ τὰτ' ἐνεκα προσηλυτον γενεσαι, καὶ περιτμηθηναι: εἰτα μὴ λαβοντα την κορην ωργισαι, καὶ κατα περιτομης γεγενθῆναι, καὶ κατα σαββατου, καὶ νομοδυσιας. Epiphani. Haeref. 30. n. 16, 25.

fore of the Nazarens) *and they are inform'd of thee, that thou teachest all the Jews, which are among the Gentiles, to forsake Moses; saying, that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs.* So he's now understood, I am sure. *What is it therefore? the multitude must needs come together: for they will hear that thou art come. Do therefore this that we say to thee. We have four men, which have a vow on them; take them, and purify thy self with them, and be at charges with them, that they may shave their heads: and all may know that those things, wherof they are inform'd concerning thee, ARE NOTHING; but that thou thy self also walkest orderly, and keepest the Law.* As touching the Gentiles which believe, we have written and concluded, that they observe no such thing; save only that they keep themselves from things offer'd to Idols, and from blood, and from things strangl'd, and from fornication. By the way, here is no restriction made as to time or place, either in the abstinence of the Gentile Christians from these four heads, or in the keeping of the Law by the Jewish Christians. But of this

Ver. 26. *presently. Then PAUL took the men, and the next day purifying himself with them, enter'd into the Temple; to signify the accomplishment of the days of purification, that an offering shou'd be offer'd for every one of them.* It follows therefore irrefragably, that PAUL contended onely for the liberty of the Gentiles from Circumcision and the rest of the Law, but not by any means of the Jewish Christians: for if the matter was not so, how cou'd it

Ver. 24. *be truely said, that those things were nothing, with which he was charg'd? namely, that he taught the Jews to forsake Moses, and that they ought not to circumcise their children, neither to walk after the customs. And, upon any other foot, wou'd not the other Apostles be as great dissem-*
blers

blers as he? this being, as I hinted before, the onely way in the world to reconcile things; and reconcile them it absolutely does, without any doubt or difficulty. Abstruse and multiform are the windings of error; but the clew of truth is uniform and easy. Yet to what unaccountable shifts are most Commentators driven, to save their own precarious System, and withall the integrity of the Apostles! what loose maxims, incompatible even with ordinary morals, do they not authorize! when nothing can ever do, but the real distinction of Jewish and Gentile Christians; who are ever to subsist in the Church, as in the sequel will be made evident. Neither am I altogether singular in this point: for this very passage of PAUL's justifying himself to his countrymen in this manner, appear'd so decisive to JAMES RHENFERD, Professor of the Oriental tongues in ^s Franeker, that he doubted not in one of his excellent ^s6 *Dissertations* to maintain, that PAUL taught onely the Gentile Christians (and never the Jewish, as is universally suppos'd) to abstain from Circumcision, and the observation of the rest of the Law. He confirms his opinion by these words of PAUL himself to the Corinthians: *but as God has distributed to every man, as the Lord has call'd every one, so let him walk; and so ordain I in all the Churches. Is any man call'd being CIRCUMCIS'D? let him not become UNCIRCUMCIS'D: is any call'd in UNCIRCUMCISION? let him not become CIRCUMCIS'D. CIRCUMCISION is nothing, and UNCIRCUMCISION is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God. Let every man*

1 Cor. vii.
17, 18, 19,
20.

55. He's dead since the writing of this Letter.

56. De fictis Judaeorum & Judaizantium Haeresibus.

abide in the same calling, wherein he was called. I repeat it again, that PAUL can never be otherwise defended against the Ebionites; tho I know at the same time, that this will be call'd contradicting all the Churches in the world: and I despair not of setting the argument here in its due light, as I said before, without making my Dissertation too bulky. Yet let Criticism and Reason be ever so clear in the case, let Scripture and History be ever so positive, or an Accommodation with the Jews be ever so much facilitated; some of the reigning Divines will be as fond of their errors as of their benefices, and sooner keep up an eternal warr between the Jews and the Gentiles, than own themselves to have been ever in the wrong. No Innovation is the word, when the question is all the while about reducing things to the Old Foundation.

C H A P. XII.

BUT waving what the Ebionites further urg'd, and, as you see, very unjustly concerning PAUL's dissimulation, let's now procede with incontestable matter of fact; and observe from the foregoing discourse of JAMES and the Elders to him, that all the Jews which became Christians were still Zealous for the Levitical Law. This Law they look'd upon to be no less national and political, than religious and sacred: that is to say, expressive of the history of their peculiar nation, essential to the being of their Theocracy or Republic, and aptly commemorating whatever befell their ancestors or their state; which, not regarding other people, they did not think them bound by the same, however indispensably subject to the Law of Nature. *Our teacher MOSES,*
says

Acts xxi.
20.

Exod. xii.
26, 27. &
xiii. 8, 9.
*and in many
other places,
as Deut. iv.
5—10. &
vi. 2, 7, 8.
& xi. 18—
21. & xx.
25*

says ⁵⁷ MAIMONIDES, *did not deliver the inheritance of the Law and the Ordinances, but to the Israelites onely; according to that of Deuteronomy, MOSES commanded us a Law, even the inheritance of the congregation of JACOB: and also to all those, who become Profelytes out of other nations; according to that of Numbers, as you are, so shall the stranger be. But no body, against his will, must be forc'd to embrace the Law and the Ordinances.* Besides this, the Jews were perswaded of the Law's eternal duration, of Circumcision's being an everlasting covenant, and of the Sabbath's being no less plainly deem'd than call'd such a covenant, not to speak of the passover, &c, from the manifold express declarations and promises of the *Old Testament*: and all this without any other limitation, but that of *the days of heaven upon earth*, and the final period of *their generations*, or the utmost date of time. They were further rooted in this persuasion from the repeated words and constant practice of JESUS, who they believ'd came not as a diminisher or an abolisher, but (as he himself openly profess) an accomplisher or perfecter of the Law, the restorer of the same, and a reformer of the abuses which had gradually crept in upon it: for the Pharisees had almost wholly perverted, transform'd, and made it of no effect, by their Traditions, Explications, and even Dispensations; as all Institutions (tho ever so sacred) come to be corrupted and disguiz'd in time, by men of weak or worldly minds. Thus therefore the Nazarens, following the precept and example of their master JESUS, concluded they might be very good Christians, yet still observe their own country rites (Sacrifices excepted)

Deut.
xxxiii.
4.

Num. xv.
15.

Gen. xvii.
7, 10, 13.
Exod. xxxi.
16, 17. &c.
xxix. 9. &
xl. 15.

Levit. vii.
36, &c.
Deut. iv. 1
40. & vi. 2.

Deut. xi.
21. Levit.
xl. 15, &c.

Mat. v. 17,
18, 19, 20.
& xv. 3, 6, 9.
Mar. vii. 7,
8, 9. Luc.
xvi. 17. &c.

⁵⁷. Tractat. de Reg. cap. 8.

abide in the same calling, wherein he was called. I repeat it again, that PAUL can never be otherwise defended against the Ebionites; tho I know at the same time, that this will be call'd contradicting all the Churches in the world: and I despair not of setting the argument here in its due light, as I said before, without making my *Dissertation* too bulky. Yet let Criticism and Reason be ever so clear in the case, let *Scripture* and *History* be ever so positive, or an Accommodation with the Jews be ever so much facilitated; some of the reigning Divines will be as fond of their errors as of their benefices, and sooner keep up an eternal warr between the Jews and the Gentiles, than own themselves to have been ever in the wrong. *No Innovation* is the word, when the question is all the while about reducing things to the *Old Foundation*.

C H A P. XII.

Acts xxi.
20.

Exod. xii.
26, 27. &
xiii. 8, 9.
*and in many
other places,
as Deut. iv.
5—10. &
vi. 2, 7, 8.
& xi. 18—
21. & xx.
25*

BUT waving what the Ebionites further urg'd, and, as you see, very unjustly concerning PAUL's dissimulation, let's now procede with incontestable matter of fact; and observe from the foregoing discourse of JAMES and the Elders to him, that all the Jews which became Christians were still Zealous for the Levitical Law. This Law they look'd upon to be no less national and political, than religious and sacred: that is to say, expressive of the history of their peculiar nation, essential to the being of their Theocracy or Republic, and aptly commemorating whatever befell their ancestors or their state; which, not regarding other people, they did not think them bound by the same, however indispensably subject to the Law of Nature. *Our teacher MOSES,*
says

says ⁵⁷ MAIMONIDES, *did not deliver the inheritance of the Law and the Ordinances, but to the Israelites onely; according to that of Deuteronomy, MOSES commanded us a Law, even the inheritance of the congregation of JACOB: and also to all those, who become Profelytes out of other nations; according to that of Numbers, as you are, so shall the stranger be. But no body, against his will, must be forc'd to embrace the Law and the Ordinances.* Besides this, the Jews were perswaded of the Law's eternal duration, of Circumcision's being an everlasting covenant, and of the Sabbath's being no less plainly deem'd than call'd such a covenant, not to speak of the passover, &c, from the manifold express declarations and promises of the *Old Testament*: and all this without any other limitation, but that of *the days of heaven upon earth*, and the final period of *their generations*, or the utmost date of time. They were further rooted in this persuasion from the repeated words and constant practice of JESUS, who they believ'd came not as a diminisher or an abolisher, but (as he himself openly profess) an accomplisher or perfecter of the Law, the restorer of the same, and a reformer of the abuses which had gradually crept in upon it: for the Pharisees had almost wholly perverted, transform'd, and made it of no effect, by their Traditions, Explications, and even Dispensations; as all Institutions (tho ever so sacred) come to be corrupted and disguiz'd in time, by men of weak or worldly minds. Thus therefore the Nazarens, following the precept and example of their master JESUS, concluded they might be very good Christians, yet still observe their own country rites (Sacrifices excepted)

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⁵⁷. Tractat. de Reg. cap. 8.

there not being one word in any *Gospel* concerning the abolition of them, but directly the contrary in all others, as well as in their own *Gospel of the Hebrews* or of the twelve *Apostles*, as it was indifferently call'd. This is so manifest, that in the late disputes about *Occasional Conformity*, the example of *JESUS* and the *Apostles* has been alleg'd a thousand times, as continuing in the practice of the Jewish rites and worship, frequenting the Temple and the Synagogues, observing the solemn feasts and particularly the Passover, like the rest of their Countrymen. And this indeed is undeniable fact: the *Apostles* were so farr from condemning the Nazarens, that they confirm'd their doctrine by their own practice. But then I challenge any in the world to show me as plainly, that it was onely by way of prudential condescension for a certain season, as it is now taken for granted on all sides. I am as much as any man for *Occasional Conformity*, among Churches not differing in essentials; which was evidently the practice of the primitive Church most properly so call'd, and founded upon unanswerable grounds. *Toleration* also (in *Scripture*, among other names, call'd *Long-suffering* and *Forbearance*) is no less plainly a duty of the *Gospel*, than it is self-evident according to the Law of Nature: so that they who persecute others in their reputations, rights, properties, or persons, for merely speculative opinions, or for things in their own nature indifferent, are so farr equally devested both of Humanity and Christianity. But the present case is nothing at all to the matter, nor can there be any solution given of it (otherwise than on the foot of our scheme) that will not appear perfectly precarious, if not subject to several great inconveniences; as no other scheme can reconcile Christianity, and the promises of everlasting duration
made

made in favor of the Jewish Law: which are poorly, I will not say sophistically, evaded, by making the words *eternal, everlasting, for ever, perpetual, and throout all generations*, to mean only *a great while*; that the way of Christ's *accomplishing the Law*, was to *abolish it*; and that *till heaven and earth shall pass*, signify'd *till the reign of TIBERIUS CESAR*. Consonant to both the example and the doctrine of JESUS and his Apostles is the judgment of JUSTIN MARTYR, who is very exprefs, and repeats it over and over; that the Jews believing on CHRIST may safely observe their own Law, provided they neither persuade nor force the Gentile Christians to do the same. Nay and he highly disapproves such of these last, as ^{s8} made a scruple of having any commerce and conversation with the first, or even to live in the same house with them. Tis true, he's of opinion the Nazarens were no longer under the obligation of their country Law: but he's so farr from damning or excommunicating them for their observation of it, as did most of the other *Fathers*; that, notwithstanding this mistake, he acknowledges them for brethren, and teaches communion with them in all things else. *If they will needs*, ^{s9} says he, *out of a weak opinion, observe*

58. Και μηδε κοινωνειν ὁμιλίας ἢ ἑτίας τοις τοιούτοις τολμώντες, οἷς ἐγὼ οὐ συνανθ' εἰμι. In dialogo cum Tryphone Judaeo.

59. Αλλ' εἰν αὐτοὶ, διὰ τὸ ἀσθενεὶς τῆς γνώμης, καὶ τὰ ὅσα δυνάμει νυν ἐκ τῶν Μωσέως (ἀ' διὰ τὸ σκληροκαρδίον τοῦ λαοῦ νοοῦμεν διατεταχθαι) μετὰ τοῦ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν χεῖρον ἐλπίζειν, καὶ τὰς αἰωνίους καὶ φύσει δικαιοπραξίας καὶ εὐσεβείας φυλάσσειν βουλῶνται, καὶ αἰρῶνται συζῆν τοῖς χριστιανοῖς καὶ πῖσι, ὡς περὶ πον, μὴ πειθόντες αὐτοὺς μὴτε περιτεμεῖσθαι ὁμοίως αὐτοῖς, μὴτε σαββατίζειν, μὴτε ἀλλὰ, ὅσα τοιαῦτα εἰσι, τηρεῖν; καὶ περιλαμβάνειν, καὶ κοινωνεῖν ἅπαντων, ὁμῶς ὁμοσπλάνχνοις καὶ ἀδελφοῖς, δεῖν αποφαινεῖσθαι. Id. Ibid.

whatever

whatever they can of the Laws of MOSES (which we think were ordain'd out of regard to the hardness of the people's hearts) and add to these their hope in JESUS, with the practice of the eternal and natural virtues of Justice and Piety; being further desirous to make one society with Christians and Believers (as I said before) yet so as not to persuade them to be circumcis'd like themselves, nor to keep the sabbath, nor to observe any such other of their rites: I think they ought not onely to be receiv'd, but likewise to be admitted to a communion of all things, as those of the same bowels and brethren. Tho I cannot approve his notion of their being in a mistake, yet I applaud his charity for bearing with them. AUGUSTIN, as we shall see hereafter, went further than JUSTIN; and maintain'd for some time the very notion that I now do, without any material difference: that the Christian Jews shou'd ever observe their own Laws, without imposing the Levitical ceremonies on the Gentiles. But the Jewish Believers did not in the least pretend, to oblige the Christians from among the Gentiles to the like things with themselves; as many wou'd inferr from one passage in the Acts of the Apostles, rashly ascribing the opinion of a few private persons to the whole Church. For after it is there related that certain men, which came from Judea, taught the brethren at Antioch, that except they were circumciz'd after the manner of MOSES, they cou'd not be sav'd; and that some of the believing Pharisees said, it was necessary to circumcise them, and to command them to keep the Law of MOSES: it was the sentence of the Apostles, given by the mouth of JAMES, that those shou'd not be trobl'd, which from among the Gentiles were
TURN'D TO GOD; *but that we write unto them (says he) that they abstain from pollutions of Idols, and from fornication, and from things strangl'd,*

strangl'd, and from blood. Here is no setting of the believing Jews free from the Law, but onely of the Christian Gentiles: and the last were enjoin'd the observation of these, not indifferent, but *necessary things*; without which there cou'd be no tolerable communication or commerce between them and the first. The greatest endearment shou'd ever reign among brethren. And what is it, I pray, but the non-observance of these precepts, that makes society so difficult a thing even at this time between the Christians and the Jews, tho the latter are in a sort of slavery to the former? It is a known observation, that there can never be any hearty fellowship, where people do'nt eat and drink together. This was evidently design'd in the ancient Sacrifices, national, urbi- cal, and familiar; as it was practis'd likewise in their solemn Treaties of peace or friendship, and was instituted in CHRIST's last Supper. I need not mention the primitive Love-feasts. But in the Apostolical decree no accommodation is hint- ed in the least, no time is limited either unto the one for quitting the old Law, or unto the other for neglecting the four Precepts; as is positively taught in all our Systems or Catechisms. When PETER preach'd the *Gospel* to CORNELIUS, a Gentile profelyte of the gate; and publickly declar'd, con- trary to the inveterate prejudices of many of the Jews, *that in every nation he that fears God, and works righteousness is accepted of him*: they were astonish'd at it, and expostulated with him for as much as eating with the Gentiles. But after- wards he gave full satisfaction to the Apostles and others at Jerusalem, as to his proceeding in this respect; and they were joyfully convinc'd, *that God had also to the Gentiles granted repentance unto life*: this being the great MYSTERY, which

Ver. 28.

Acts x. 35.

Ver. 45.

Ibid. xi. 1, 2, 3.

Ver. 18.

as

Rom. xvi. 25. Ephes. i. 9, 10. & iii. 3, 5, 6, 9. Col. i. 26, 27. as PAUL says more than once or twice, had been hid from ages and generations, till it was now manifested by the *Gospel*. But in all this account, there is not one word of PETER's subjecting those converted Gentiles to the Mosaic Law, nor of exempting the Jewish Christians from the observation of it: and tho he did eat with CORNELIUS, it does not appear that he ate any thing prohibited by the Law; any more than those Jews do, with whom we eat, and who eat with us, every day. Thus therefore THE REPUBLIC OF MOSES might still have subsisted entire, such as it was, or rather ought to have been, in Judea, and yet the inhabitants be very good Christians too: requiring no more from their brethren of the Gentiles that liv'd among them (and agreed with them in the main article of the unity of the Deity, as well as in other important tho not so essential points) than a strict abstinence from the four things now mention'd, which were likewise originally prohibited by the Jewish Law to their *Profelytes of Justice*.

C H A P. XIII.

THIS Abstinence from blood and things strangl'd, was the undoubted sense of all the primitive Christians: and did not only continue in all places (as it does still in the Eastern Churches) till AUGUSTIN's time; but, even till the eleventh century, in most parts of the Western Church. Cardinal HUMBERT, who wrote about the middle of that century, amply justifies the Latin against the Greec Church, as to

to this point; for retaining (says ⁶⁰ he) *the ancient usage or tradition of our ancestors, we in like manner do abominate these things: insomuch that a severe penance is impos'd on those, who, without extreme peril of life, do at any time feed on blood, or any animal dead of it self, either choak'd in the waters, or strangl'd by what accident soever.* I admire how those persons can herein be satisfy'd in their consciences, or by virtue of what nice distinction they can coin to themselves a dispensation from this abstinence; who make the practice of the primitive Church to be the best commentary on *Scripture*, when the doctrine of it too is so express and uniform in this respect. But I have ever observ'd, that they, who make the loudest pretences this way, are either the farthest of all others from primitive practice, or the least acquainted with primitive history. What is it, I pray, that has the *Fathers*, that has Tradition and Succession more or as much of its side, as this very Abstinence? It was commanded in an assembly of the *Apostles*, without limitation of time. 'Tis injoin'd in the ⁶¹ *Canons* antiently attributed to them. 'Tis alleg'd as a proof of their innocence by the first *Apologists* of Christianity, to all whom, that mention it, I appeal without exception; which makes particular citations unnecessary, as they wou'd make my *Letter* too prolix. 'Tis confirm'd by the Decrees of several *Councils*; and has been defended by some of the

60. Antiquam etenim consuetudinem, seu traditionem majorum nostrorum, diligenter retinentes, nos quoque haec abominamur: adeo ut sanguine, vel quocunque morticino, aut aquis seu quacunque negligentia praefocato, apud nos aliquando vescentibus, absque extremo periculo vitae hujus, poenitentia gravis imponatur. *In bibliotheca Patrum, tom. 4. pag. 202.*

61. Can. 63, aliis vero 52.

most learned men in the last century. The citations, I say, wou'd be endless. Not to speak of HUGO GROTIUS, CLAUDIUS SALMASIUS, or GERARD JOHN VOSSIUS (what mighty names!) the great STEPHEN CURCELLEUS has written an elaborate discourse on this ⁶² subject, wherein he shows abstinence from blood to have continu'd in many places to almost his own time; and CHRISTIAN BECMANNUS made a Theological Exercitation to the same ⁶³ purpose before CURCELLEUS. They all maintain'd it was no part of the ceremonial Law of the Jews, but ⁶⁴ a Noachic precept, equally binding all the world upon a moral account. The words spoken to NOAH and his sons (and consequently, say they, to all mankind) in the ninth chapter of *Genesis*, are these: *every moving thing that lives shall be meat for you, even as the green herb have I given you all things; but flesh with the life therof, which is the blood therof, shall you not eat.* This indeed is confirm'd in the Levitical Law, tho properly no part of the same according to those Gentlemen, a great many other moral duties being occasionally mention'd there; and they think it observable, that, thro-out the whole *Pentateuch*, the Stranger as well as the Jew are forbidden to eat the blood of any manner of flesh (as being the

Gen. ix.
3, 4.

62. Diatriba de esu sanguinis.

63. Exercitat. 26.

64. The Jews maintain that NOAH and his children, did, before the flood, govern themselves by the six following precepts, as an abstract of the Law of Nature, viz. I. Not to worship Idols, or any other creature. II. Not to blaspheme God, or his holy name. III. Not to shed Blood, or not to kill. IV. Not to commit incest, or adultery. V. Not to rob or steal. VI. To appoint Judges, who shou'd see these precepts duely executed: to which the Rabbins add a VIIth, as commanded after the flood, namely, Not to eat the member of any living creature.

life

life or soul therof) under the penalty of being *cut off from his people*, or, in plainer language, of being sent into banishment: for the deservedly famous Mr. LE CLERC has, in all the texts where it occurs, prov'd this ⁶⁵ phrase of being *cut off from his people*, to signify disfranchising and banishing quite out of the countrey; but not to dy an untimely death, and much less to be eternally damn'd, in one or both which senses most people have absurdly learnt to understand it. This prohibition of eating blood, is repeated in several places of the *Pentateuch*; chiefly, as is suppos'd by those who allow not the moral reason, to create a horror against the shedding of human blood, as well as for the avoiding of unwholsom or infectious diet: and being in the *Apostolical decree* neither restrain'd to any time, nor counted an indifferent, but plainly *a necessary thing*; there are still many Christians here in the West who think themselves as much bound to refrain from things stragl'd and from blood, as from meats offer'd to idols and from fornication, which are join'd together as of equal obligation. I said, that I wonder'd by what distinction certain moderns cou'd justify themselves, in their eating of birds caught in gins, black puddings, and such other things; and yet a distinction there is, but on which neither they, nor the *primitive Apologists* cou'd ever hit, or at least wou'd never stick to it, by reason of their being utter strangers to the true constitution of the THE MOSAIC REPUBLIC: for the case out of Judea, or any place where the Jews and Gentiles don't cohabit in one society, is quite another

Gen. xvii.
14. & alibi
passim.

Levit. iii.
17. & vii.
26. xvii.
10 — 14.
& xix. 26.
Deut. xii.
16, 23. &
xv. 23.

Acts xv.
28.

65. In Genesi suo, ad versum 14 capitis 17, & in Commentariis ad reliquos Pentateuchi libros.

thing.

thing. They are not all strangers indefinitely,
 Levit. xvii. but expressly *the strangers who shou'd sojourn among*
 10—14. *the Israelites*, that are forbid to eat blood: and so
 farr were these points concerning blood, or things
 strangl'd, from being parts of the moral Law;
 that the Jews were freely permitted to give or
 sell things that dy'd of themselves, to travelling
 Deut. xiv. strangers and aliens, *that they might eat them*:
 21. which wou'd be highly immoral, were their own
 abstinence from eating such things grounded on
 the Law of nature. And just as they granted
 this liberty to aliens, and to *Profelytes of the gate*;
 or those strangers, who, tho believing in one
 God, yet were not circumcis'd, but worshipt in
 the outer court of the Temple, not conforming
 to the *Jewish Law*: so the Egyptians, who, no
 less than the Jews, had the distinction of meats
 clean and unclean, us'd to sell the ⁶⁶ head of the
 sacrific'd beast to strangers, it being to themselves
 an abomination and an accursed thing. But as
 for the *Profelytes of justice*, or those strangers,
 who not onely were settl'd among the Jews, and
 inhabitants of their cities, but also receiv'd Cir-
 cumcision as well as the belief of one God, and
 did in every thing conform to the Jewish Law;
 they were bound in all parts of social life (as in
 the feast of the passover, and in meat and drink-
 offerings particularly) to comply in the strictest
 sense with the establish'd Laws and Customs.
 One Law, says MOSES speaking of these very
 things, *and one Manner shall be for you, and for*
the stranger that sojourneth with you: which is
 there directly call'd *a perpetual ordinance*. To
 this purpose also MAIMONIDES, as above-

Exod. xii.
 48, 49.
 Num. ix.
 14.
 Ibid. xv.
 16.

66. Κεφαλή δ'εκείνου πολλά καταρνησάμενοι, φέρουσι τοῖσι
 μὲν αὐτῇ ἀγορῇ, καὶ Ἕλληνες σφί εἶναι ἐπιδήμιοι ἐμποροῖ; οἱ
 δὲ φερόντες εἰς τὴν ἀγορὴν, ἀπ'αὐτῶν ἐδόντο. Herodot. l. 2. c. 39.

cited.

cited. Of the same nature and necessity therefore Pag. 39.
 was the case of the Jewish and Gentile Christi-
 ans, who, in the infancy of Christianity, made
 up one Church or society at Antioch; as it wou'd
 be again so, shou'd all the Jews become Christi-
 ans, and be resettl'd in Judea: and upon a due
 examination the general prohibition in *Genesis* will
 be found to be no barr to this doctrine; as many
 other seeming generals there, were written never-
 theless with special regard to the people of Isra-
 el, and to them onely. Of such general prohi-
 bitions, yet onely meaning the particular usages
 of the Jews, L E C L E R C will afford you many
 instances in his most learned *Commentary* before
 quoted. And therefore P A U L writing to the Pag. 47.
 Corinthian Gentiles, with whom the Jews were
 not so much intermixt, tells that *meat commend-* 1 Cor. viii.
eth us not to God; for neither if we eat are we the 8, 9.
better, neither if we eat not are we the worse: but
take heed, lest by any means this liberty of yours be-
come a stumbling-block to them that are weak. This
 scandalizing of others (whether about eating of
 blood, or about meat offer'd to idols) was all that
 wise men had to avoid, as P A U L further ac-
 quaints the same Christians, saying, *whatsoever is* Ibid. x.
sold in the shambles that eat, asking no question for 25, 26, 27,
conscience sake: for the earth is the Lord's, and the 28, 29, 32.
fullness therof. If any of them that believe not, bid
you to a feast, and you be dispos'd to go; whatsoever
is set before you eat, asking no question for conscience
sake: but if any man say unto you, this is offer'd
in sacrifice to Idols, eat not for his sake that shou'd
it and for conscience sake (for the earth is the Lord's
and the fullness therof) Conscience, I say, not thine
own, but of the others; for why is my liberty judg'd
of another man's conscience? — Give none offence,
neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the
Church of God. This regard to the Jews and to

E
their

their observations is so evident every where, that I wonder it cou'd ever become a subject of controversy: but the true reason is, the belief which so early obtain'd, that the Levitical Law was quite abolisht, and that the Jews were no more oblig'd to keep it than the Gentiles. This is the source of numberless errors, to the great depravation of Christianity; and this, with relation to the eating of blood in particular (after recommending the whole fourteenth chapter *to the Romans* to your perusal) may be easily made out against the *primitive Apologists* and *Fathers*, as well as against CURCELLEUS, Mr. WHISTON, and such others: who, for want of observing the said distinction of Jewish and Gentile Christians, have run into one extreme; as they, who limit the prohibition to a certain time, absolving all men and in all places alike, have run into another. But the first extreme is the more tolerable of the two, not onely for being the least mischievous in its consequences, and that the Jewish Christians are still oblig'd to this abstinence; but as being withall both innocent and wholesom, as well as easy enough in its practice. But to return, the fifteenth chapter of *the Acts* cou'd not but be a strong prejudice in behalf of the Ebionites, and the stronger, as being the testimony of a book they believ'd compil'd in favor of PAUL: besides

1 Pet. i. 1. that PETER in his *first Epistle* (indisputably address'd to the believing Jews) calls them *a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people*. He does not say they were formerly such, but shou'd be accounted so no longer; he desires 'em, on the contrary, *to have their conversation honest among the Gentiles*, from whom they were therefore to be distinct: so that they might still enjoy all the prerogatives and distinctions of their nation, no less than in Judea (the Temple and

Ibid. ii. 9.

Ver. 12.

and Sacrifices excepted) as a separate people even among the Gentiles, and yet be very true Christians also.

C H A P. XIV.

THIS, I am persuaded, was in this particular point (for I approve of no men's errors) the genuin Theology of the Nazarens; however mistaken or misrepresented by the Christians from among the Gentiles, as if they wou'd have them likewise to observe the whole Law of MOSES. They indeed in their turn may have mistaken PAUL's meaning, *in whose Epistles are some things hard to be understood*, as is well remark'd in the *second Epistle* attributed to PETER. But if the Nazarens did so mistake PAUL, the Gentiles have sufficiently reveng'd their Apostle's quarrel. The *Fathers* are shamefully inconsistent, both with one another and each with himself, concerning the Ebionites: splitting them where they ought to be united (as they unite them where they ought to be split) turning their blessings sometimes into curses, and making their godly prayers to pass for diabolical conjurations. The Gentile Christians (as I have said more than once) show'd on all occasions an inexpressible hatred against those from among the Jews, even to the speaking many times irreverently if not profanely of the Law; tho they were acknowledg'd debtors to the Nazarens for the *Gospel*, the Jewish Church having been form'd, before any Gentiles had embrac'd Christianity. But none of any sort has treated them with more undisguiz'd rancor than EPIPHANIUS, the most ignorant and partial of all Historians; as has been made out in multitudes of instances by the best writers of the two last and the present century,

tury, not to mention any more ancient. Passing over his palpable ignorance in Grammar, History, Chronology, and the Hebrew tongue (tho a converted Jew) this may be truly said in general of him; that as none was more ready to make every man heretical, so none was more backward to find any man orthodox: and those, who displeas'd him in one thing, he was sure to misrepresent in every thing. Nevertheless, this same bungling and confus'd EPIPHANIUS owns, that the Nazarens ⁶⁷*differ'd in this ONE THING, as well from the Jews as the Christians: not agreeing with the former, because they believe in CHRIST; nor being of one mind with the latter, because they continue still addicted to the Jewish Law, to Circumcision, to the Sabbath, and to the other ceremonies.* You may take notice that he does not say, they urg'd these things on others, but only observ'd them among themselves; which is what I precisely insist upon, not merely as their real sentiment: but likewise as a very innocent and harmless thing, nay and will maintain it to be so far the TRUE ORIGINAL PLAN OF CHRISTIANITY. For all this he'll have them a little lower to be ⁶⁸ downright Jews, tho he says in the very same place that they are declar'd enemies to the Jews; and that the Jews on the other hand do mortally hate them, cursing them three times a day in their Synagogues, as we learnt from JEROM before. Any man else, but EPIPHANIUS, wou'd have remember'd the distinction he had

67. Εν τούτω δε μόνον πρὸς Ἰουδαίους διαφερόνται καὶ χριστιανούς: Ἰουδαίοις μὲν μὴ συμφωνοῦντες, διὰ τὸ εἰς χριστὸν πεπιστευκέναι; χριστιανοῖς δὲ μὴ ὁμογνωμοῦντες, διὰ τὸ ἐτι νόμῳ πεπεδημένους, περιτομῇ τε, καὶ σαββάτῳ, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. Haeres 29. n. 7.

68. Ibid. n. 9.

just made himself: and not reckon 'em Christians the less in religion, that they had ⁶⁹ Synagogs and Elders as Jews by nation; nor, because they were partly Jews in the outward man, deny 'em to be in the inward man entirely Christians. Here I wou'd desire those among us, who press the necessity of observing the Jewish Sabbath (for which reason they are call'd *Sabbatarians*, or *Seventh-day-sabbath-men*) to consider, that they were not the Christians from among the Gentiles, but the Nazarens from among the Jews, that anciently observ'd, or rather were onely bound to observe, the Jewish Sabbath: for we of the Gentile stock are not oblig'd *to observe days, or* Gal. iv. 10. *months, or times, or years*; we are to be judg'd by Col. ii. 16. *no man in meat or in drink, or in respect of a holy day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbaths*. And indeed had the original distinction of two sorts of Christians been heeded, this dispute had never risen: neither had the voluntary complaisance of the Gentile Christians in somtimes celebrating the Sabbath of the Jews, nor of the Jewish Christians in observing the first day of the week with the Gentiles, been ignorantly drawn by any into the nature of a precept, or as an example of indispensable imitation; which yet was done by many *Fathers and Councils* (not necessary at present to name) by the ⁷⁰ *Apostolical Constitutions*, and by the *Edicts* of ⁷¹ CONSTANTINE the Great. Our Sabbatarians therefore (so call'd) a-

69. Haeref. 30. n. 18.

70. Το σαββατον μιν τοι και την κυριακην εορταζετε; οτι το μιν δημιουργιας εστιν υπομνημα, η δε αναστασεως. l. 7. c. 23.

71. Υπο την Ρωμαιων αρχην πολιτευομενοις απασι σχολην αγειν ταις επονυμοις τε Σωτηρος ημεραις ενουδετη: ομοιως δε και τας τε σαββατα τιμαν; μνημης ενεκα μοι δοκειν των εν ταυταις τω κοινω σωτηρι πεπεραχθαι μνημονευομενων. Euseb, de vita Constantini, l. 4. c. 18.

mong whom I was intimately acquainted with the late excellent Mr. STENNET, being right in their position, tho wrong in the application of it, into which they were misled by so great authorities and examples, have this advantage however; that they may alter their practice, without recanting their opinion, namely, *that the Jewish Sabbath is to be observ'd in all ages.* After the same manner may be readily terminated abundance of other difficulties, solely arising from the misapplication to all, of what peculiarly belongs to one sort of Christians. Thus, to name no others, came into the Church *Extreme Unction*, which in time has been erected into a Sacrament. Yet this Unction originally was neither sacred nor extreme. Every one knows in what high estimation Oil was among the eastern nations, and he has not read the *Old Testament*, who is not acquainted with the most frequent use of Anointing among the Jews. It was especially practis'd on a medicinal account, and administr'd publicly in the synagogues by the Elders on the Sabbath; where the applying of this remedy to poor sick people, was accompany'd by the prayers of the faithful for their recovery, and the pardon of their sins: or if the persons were in a very weak condition, the Elders came home to them. LIGHTFOOT⁷² observes out of the *Jerusalem*⁷³ *Talmud*, that Rabbi SIMEON, the Son of ELEAZAR, permitted Rabbi MEIR to mingle wine with the oil, when he anointed the sick on the Sabbath: and quotes as a Tradition from⁷⁴ thence, *that anointing on the Sabbath was permitted. If his head akes, or a scald comes upon it,*

72. *Harmony of the N. Testament*, Works, vol. 1. pag. 333.

73. In *Beracoth*. fol. 3. col. 1.

74. Id. in *Maazar Sheni*, fol. 53. col. 3.

he anoints with oil. So, in the *Babylonian* ⁷⁵ *Talmud*, tis said almost in the same words; *if he be sick, or a scald be upon his head, he anoints according to his manner.* The Apostle JAMES therefore writing to the Jewish Christians, whose synagogues and rites were precisely the same with those of the other Jews, *is any sick among you* Jam. v. (says he) *let him send for the Elders of the Church,* ^{14, 15.} *and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord: and the prayer of the faithful shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sins, they shall be forgiven him.* This, you see, was nothing like the extreme unction of the Roman Church, but peculiar to the Jewish nation: as tis recorded of the other Apostles, who were not onely Jews, but likewise Elders of the Jewish Churches, that *they anointed with oil many that were sick, and* Mar. vi. *healed them.* Several of our Protestant Divines, ^{13.} ignorant of the Jewish customs, yet perceiving the absurdity of the Roman practise, wou'd have this Apostolic Unction to be miraculous and temporary; tho others were for extending it to all men and times, as some did the observation of the Sabbath. But they were onely the Nazarens that were to keep their national Sabbath, and yet this is one of the heinous crimes the Gentiles cou'd never forgive them; and for which they must not, forsooth, so much as deserve the appellation of Christians: since *while they wou'd be both Jews and Christians,* says ⁷⁶ JEROM, *they are neither Jews nor Christians;* and, speaking of these Nazarens in another place, *they*

^{75.} In Joma, fol. 77. 2.

^{76.} Dum volunt & Judaei esse & Christiani, nec Judaei sunt nec Christiani. In Epist. ad Augustin.

so receive CHRIST, says ⁷⁷ he, *as not to quit the ceremonies of the old Law.* Well: where's the harm of all that? and why shou'd it trouble him, or me, or any other, that were to observe no such thing? Yet this, it seems, is the chief thing, even more than their opinion concerning the person of CHRIST, for which the new inmates unjustly expell'd the old inhabitants: for the same JEROM roundly tells ⁷⁸ us, *that the Cerinthians and Ebionites, who were the Jews that believ'd in CHRIST, were anathematiz'd by the Fathers for this ONELY THING, that they intermixt the remonies of the Law with the Gospel of CHRIST; and so profess the new matters, as not to part with the old.* Very nice and deliberate! Here you see the antiquity of pressing *Uniformity*, and the effects of it too: and I am entirely satisfy'd, that, were it not for this execrable treatment of them (so contrary to the practise of JESUS, and the doctrine of the Gospel) not a Jew, but, many ages since, had been likewise a Christian; as it must be on this foot alone, that their conversion to Christianity can ever be reasonably expected. Thus then the poor Jews were expell'd at once, and none of 'em to be ever receiv'd again, according to the mind of those *Fathers*, without a particular abjuration not only of their Judaism, but I may say of their Christianity too.

77. Nazaraei ita Christum recipiunt, ut observationes Legis veteris non amittant. *Id. ad Fes. 8.*

78. Qui [Ebionici & Cerinthiani] credentes in Christo, propter hoc solum a Patribus anathematizati sunt, quod Legis ceremonias Christi Evangelio miscuerunt; & sic nova confessi sunt, ut vetera non amitterent. *In Epist. ad Augustin.*

CHAP. XV.

AUGUSTIN indeed made some small effort in favor of the Nazarens, as may be seen in the Letters that pass between him and JEROM on this Subject; where, as it happens in most disputes, they quickly lost the main point, and ran after foren matters, trivial incidents, or personal reflections, till they came at last to fight perfectly in the dark, and to make the reader admire about what it is they contend. JEROM, endeavoring upon a wrong supposition to reconcile those seeming contradictions, which I have easily accorded above upon the bottom of truth, had recourse to *the lawfulness of an officious Ly for the sake of a good end*; and so asserted that PAUL, in accusing PETER, had prevaricated in effect himself: but all well done, it seems, for the important end of gaining the Jews, and excusing his own conduct. This doctrine however cou'd not but scandalize AUGUSTIN, who wrote smartly to him about it, and justify'd PAUL by saying as I do, and as the things say themselves, that when he speaks against the Law as dangerous or useless, he means this of the Gentiles: and that all passages spoken by him or others in favor of the Law, or enjoining the observation of it, relate purely to the Jewish Christians: besides that PETER had onely misled some Gentiles by his example, which they mistook, but not by his doctrine, which ought to have been better explain'd. To this purpose AUGUSTIN. *But of all your discourse* (says ⁷⁹ JEROM) *which you have*

79. Totius sermonis tui, quem disputatione longissimâ protraxisti, hic sensus est; ut Petrus non erraverit in eo, quòd his qui

have spun out into so prolix a disputation, this in short is the sense; that PETER did not err, in thinking the Law shou'd be observ'd by those, who believ'd among the Jews: but that he declin'd from the right way, in forceing the Gentiles to Judaize; which you say he did, not by the precept of his doctrine, but by the example of his conversation. You maintain therfore that PAUL did not say any thing, contrary to what he had done himself; but had truely accus'd PETER, of having compell'd the Christians from among the Gentiles to observe the Law. The sum therfore of your question, or rather of your judgement, is this; that, even after the Gospel, the Jews who believe, do well to observe the ordinances of the Law: that is to say, if they offer sacrifices as PAUL did, if they circumcise their children, if they keep the sabbath, &c. This he's so farr from approving, that he utterly detests it: tis turning Christianity into Judaism. If we must ly, says ⁸⁰ he, under the necessity of receiving the Jews together with their observations of the Law; and that they may perform in the Churches of CHRIST, what they exercis'd in the Synagogues of SATAN: I'll tell you my opinion freely, they will not become Christians, but make us

qui ex Judaeis crediderant, putaverit Legem esse servandam: sed in eo a recti linea deviarit, quod gentes coegerit Judaizare; coegerit autem non docentis imperio, sed conversationis exemplo. Et Paulus non contraria sit locutus his, quae ipse gesserat; sed quare Petrus eos, qui ex gentibus erant, Judaizare compelleret. Haec ergo summa est quaestionis, immo sententiae tuae; ut, post Evangelium Christi, bene faciant Judaei credentes, si Legis mandata custodiant: hoc est, si sacrificia offerant, quae obtulit Paulus, si filios circumcidant, si Sabbatum fervent, &c. *Id. ibid.*

80. Sin autem haec nobis incumbit necessitas, ut Judaeos cum legitimis suis suscipiamus, & licebit eis observare in Ecclesiis Christi quod exercuerunt in synagogis Satanae; dicam quod sentio, non illi Christiani fient, sed nos Judaeos facient. *Id. ibid.*

Jews;

Jews; as if the Jews and Gentiles were not to have their Churches apart, and as if the former wou'd not perform their peculiar ceremonies in in their own Churches, which he blasphemously calls the synagogues of SATAN. But this is nothing to JEROM's perpetual sophistry, which yet is infinitely exceeded by his warmth and virulence. He sweats thro-out this whole Letter, he turmoils and turns himself every way. Now he disputes and argues, then he scolds and expostulates: and after produceing a passage out of AUGUSTIN's Letter, justifying PETER for persevering in the Law, as being by nation a Jew: *I must speak to the contrary*, says ⁸¹ he, *and, tho the whole world shou'd be of another mind, pronounce with a loud voice, that the ceremonies of the Jews are pernicious and damnable to Christians; and that whoever will observe them, be he of the Jewish or Gentile race, is plung'd into the gulf of the Devil.* Thus this hotheaded raving monk, who to such a degree frightened AUGUSTIN (for convinc'd he cou'd never be) with his vehemence and bawling, that he flunk to the poorest subterfuges imaginable for getting well off; first giving another sense to an opinion, which he had before exprest in the plainest terms, and then quite giving it up to the overbearing weight of the majority. He was a Bishop, and wou'd continue so. The Jews therefore were cut off for ever, as I said, from the body of that Church which they had founded, wherein their Law is continually read to this day, where the Gentiles are proud to bear their proper names, and where they must in some man-

81. Ego e contrario loquar, & reclamante mundo, liberâ voce pronuntio, ceremonias Judaeorum & perniciosas esse & mortificas Christianis: & quicunque eas observaverit, sive ex Judaeis sive ex Gentibus, eum in barathrum Diaboli devolutum. *Id. ibid.*

ner become Jews before they can be reckon'd good Christians. Nor ought this proceeding to appear any way surprizing, or the intrigue be reckon'd so very flagitious, when we consider what a damning crew the *Fathers* were; and how prone on the slightest occasions, sometimes for mere punctilios of Criticism or Chronology (wherin they were generally wrong) to send not onely private persons, but even whole societies, churches, and nations, a packing to the Devil. This is well known to all that have lookt into *Church-history*. But I am weary of transcribing so many citations out of books, that are very unpleasant to read, as are almost all the works of the *Fathers*: and wou'd think my self bound to make an apology for it, were it not that the thing is unavoidable in this kind of writing; where altho the best proofs imaginable, and the most clear are requisite, the worst in the world are generally us'd, the most precarious, perplext, and obscure. And, if the truth may be freely spoken, there remains very little on record, very little that's any way certain or authentic, concerning *the originals of Christianity*, from the beginning of NERO to the end of TRAJAN or ADRIAN, that I may take the narrowest compass I can: for others will bring this period of uncertainty much lower, which shou'd the more engage us to keep close to the *Scriptures*, where alone we can find rest for the soles of our feet. Yet in this labyrinth of the *Fathers* we have been at no loss (you see, MEGALETOR) tho sometimes a little at a stand, to find out the unsophisticated sentiments of the Nazarens or Ebionites, so farr as here insisted on, for of their other opinions we shall discourse another time: and this for the most part by the light of such testimonies, as if justly doubted or oppos'd, there will be

be no evidence left for any sort of Christianity whatever. Now, from all these things, and particularly from *the Letter of PETER to JAMES* Pag. 23. above cited, as well as from *the Acts of the Apostles*, and from other places of *the New Testament*, together with what some ancient Sectaries believ'd concerning the death and resurrection of JESUS, it manifestly appears from what source the Mahometans (who always most religiously abstain from things strangl'd and from blood) had their peculiar Christianity, if I be allow'd so to call it; and that their *Gospel*, for ought I yet know, may in the main be the ancient *Gospel of BARNABAS*. For the Mahometan Interpolations are too palpable, not to be easily distinguish'd: I wish we cou'd as easily come by the omissions, if there be any. PETER MARTYR (by the way) does, in the first chapter of the 4th part of his *Common places*, maintain, with other eminent Divines, that Mahometanism is nothing else but a Christian Heresy; from which I still inferr, that, whether upon a prospect of advantaging Traffic, or of putting them in the way of conversion to a better Christianity, the Mahometans may be as well allow'd Moschs in these parts of Europe, if they desire it, as any other Sectaries: and certainly it wou'd not onely be highly unreasonable, but withall be the highest ingratitude, in the King of Sweden to oppose it at Stockholm; considering the generous and human treatment, I will not say the charitable and pious reception, he found so many years at Bender with his Christian followers. No future misunderstanding may cancel the obligation: for if we are bound to forgive the injuries of our enemies, we ought certainly much rather to forget the miscarriages of our friends.

C H A P. XVI.

I SHALL conclude these reflections concerning the perpetual observation of the Mosaic Law by the Jewish, and of the Noachic Precepts by the Gentile Christians living among them, with remarking, that the Apostle JAMES does not in his *Epistle* mean by WORKS the moral Law, nor by FAITH a merit in believing, as is suppos'd by the current of Expositors, the one half at least of Scholastic Divinity being built on this very interpretation: but that WORKS there signify the *Levitical Law*, as FAITH is put for *Christianity*. This likewise is apparently PAUL's meaning, whenever he uses the same expressions: and thus onely may these two Apostles be reconcil'd, without recurring to evasions, suppositions, and sophisms, that will satisfy no reasonable man, however he may think fit perhaps to hold his tongue. JAMES

Cap. i. v. 1 writes expressly to the scatter'd tribes of the Jews, and therefore tells them that FAITH (i.e. Christianity) *can neither profit nor save them without*

Cap. ii. v. 14. WORKS (i. e. the Levitical rites) as being oblig'd by an eternal and national covenant to the Law of MOSES: but PAUL, writing by the Jewish converts to the Romans, tells them, that

Cap. iii. v. 28. *a man is justify'd by FAITH without the works of the LAW*, the Gentiles not being at all concern'd

Cap. ii. v. 26. in the Mosaic rites or ceremonies. JAMES says, that *the FAITH of a Jew* (for to such onely he writes) *without the WORKS of the Law is dead*: and PAUL says, that the Gentiles (for such he himself calls the Romans) *are dead to the LAW by the body of CHRIST*. In the same manner is to be understood the *Epistle to the Galatians*, Gen-

tiles

tiles whom certain more zealous than knowing
 Jews wou'd needs compel to be circumcis'd: and
 in the same manner also ought we carefully to di-
 stinguish what is said to the *Colossians*, *Philippians*,
 or any other Christians from among the Gentiles
 (as such) from what is said by way of parenthesis
 in PAUL's *Epistles*, or more directly elsewhere,
 to the Jewish Christians, and proper to them one-
 ly. Thus that *the LAW was our Schoolmaster to* Gal. iii. 24.
bring us unto CHRIST, and that its *ordinances* 25.
were blotted out and nail'd to CHRIST's cross, Col. ii. 14.
 are phrases to be understood onely of us Gentiles.
 I might with equal facility run over all the *Epi-
 stles*, and not onely show this distinction perpetu-
 ally reigning thro them; but remark at the same
 time those infinite mistakes that the want of ob-
 serving such a distinction has occasion'd: especial-
 ly those grosser errors, which have been too com-
 monly advanc'd into fundamental Doctrines, ad-
 ministring fuel for endless contentions; but nei-
 ther reforming men's manners, nor informing their
 understandings. They are the prime handles, on
 the contrary, for the opposition made to all Chri-
 stianity; while such writers are in the mean time
 combating a Phantom, and wou'd some of them
 be the zealoufist advocates for the Christian Insti-
 tution, cou'd they but see its original beauty,
 stript of all such paint and disguise. A person (Sir)
 of your great penetration and solid judgement,
 cannot fail making such observations to himself;
 tho, in regard of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, the
 case is peculiar: for which reason I reserve what
 I have to say about it, till I come to treat of the
 nature and end of Sacrifices, without which the
 scope of the author *to the Hebrews* is obscure if
 not unintelligible. For in this respect I grant there
 is a change of the Law, as the Lawgiver himself
 has expressly foretold there shou'd be; wherein he's
 follow'd

Pag. 37.

follow'd by JEREMIAH, EZECHIEL, JOEL, and such others, as must be acknowledg'd to have well understood the reason and design of the Jewish Sacrifices. Wherefore desiring you to suspend your judgement till you see the ⁸² RES-PUBLICA MOSAICA, I return to my general position. Besides the passage alledg'd before out of *the first Epistle to the Corinthians*, the following passage also out of that to the Romans, may serve for a perpetual key to this System of reconciling JAMES and PAUL, viz. that WORKS, as oppos'd to FAITH in their writings, signify the *opus operatum* of the Levitical Law, or the outward practice of it; and that FAITH signifies the belief of one God, a persuasion of the truth of CHRIST's doctrine, and the inward sanctification of the mind. Without this Faith and Regeneration (as a change from vice to virtue was properly call'd even by the Heathens) the ever so punctual performance of Ceremonies cou'd not justify a Jew, or render him a good man, agreeable and well-pleasing to God: but JESUS and his Apostles made it manifest that the Gentile, who believ'd one God and the necessity of Regeneration, might, contrary to the notions of the degenerate Jews (who then plac'd all religion in outward practices) be justify'd by such his Faith, without being oblig'd to exercise the ceremonies of the Law, being things no way regarding him, either as to national origin or civil government; while the Jew, on the other hand, must, to the outward observance of his country Law by eternal covenant, add this inward Regeneration and the Faith of the *Gospel*, or the Levitical Law wou'd avail him nothing tho ever so strictly observ'd. Here PAUL himself speak.

82. See the Appendix, number I.

Where is boasting then? It is excluded: by what Rom. iii.
Law? of WORKS? Nay; but by the Law of 27—31.
FAITH. *Therefore we conclude, that a man is*
justify'd by FAITH without the Works of the
LAW. *Is he the God of the JEWS onely? is he*
not also of the GENTILES? Yes of the GEN-
TILES *also; seeing it is one God which shall justi-*
fy the CIRCUMCISION by FAITH, and the
UNCIRCUMCISION thro FAITH. *Do we*
then make void the LAW thro FAITH? God
forbid: yea we establisb the LAW. What can
 be more plain or pertinent? and is not this the
 onely way to reconcile the Gospels with the *Acts*
 and *Epistles*, as well as these with the *Old Testa-*
ment? Is not this the onely method of according
 the Jews and the Gentiles? yea and of justifying
 God himself against those, who object the muta-
 bility or imperfection of giving one Law at one
 time, and another Law at another time? whereas
 there is no such abrogating or obrogating accord-
 ing to the **ORIGINAL PLAN OF CHRIS-**
TIANITY. The Religion that was true yester-
 day is not false to day; neither can it ever be false,
 if it was once true.

C H A P. XVII.

THUS therefore the Jewish Christians were
 ever bound to observe the Law of **Moses**,
 and the Gentile Christians, who liv'd among them,
 onely the Noachic precepts of abstinence from
 blood and things offer'd to Idols: for the Moral
 Law was both then, and before, and ever will
 be, of indispensable obligation to all men, it be-
 ing the grossest absurdity and impiety to assert the
 contrary; since sound Reason, or the light of
 common sense, is a catholic and eternal rule,
 F without

without which mankind cou'd not subsist in peace or happiness one hour. It is the fundamental bond of all society, where there is or there is not a reveal'd religion: and tis the onely thing that's approv'd by the most opposite Revelations, or by any sort of parties and divisions in each other. Nothing can be more apposite in this place, than what C I C E R O divinely writes to the same purpose. **RIGHT REASON**, says ⁸³ he, *is a true Law; suteable to nature, diffus'd among all people constantly the same, everlasting: which obliges men to their duty by commands, and deterrs them from wickedness by prohibitions; but which never commands or prohibits the virtuous in vain, tho the vicious are not mov'd by menaces or injunctions. Of this Law nothing must be chang'd, nor may any part of it be repeal'd, nor can the whole be ever abolish'd; neither can we be absolv'd from observing it, by the authority of the Senate or the People. No other expounder or interpreter therof, but it self, is to be sought; nor is it one Law at Rome, another at Athens, one at this time, another hereafter: but the same Law, both eternal and immortal, is to govern all nations and at all times. And there will be, as*

83. Est quidem vera Lex recta Ratio, naturae congruens, diffusa in omnes, constans, sempiterna: quae vocet ad officium jubendo, vetando a fraude deterreat; quae tamen neque probos frustra jubet aut vetat, nec improbos jubendo aut vetando movet. Huic Legi neque obrogari fas est, neque derogari ex hac aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari potest; nec verò aut per Populum, aut per Senatum, solvi hac Lege possumus. Neque est quaerendus explanator, aut interpres ejus alius; nec erit alia lex Romae, alia Athenis, alia nunc, alia posthac: sed & omnes gentes, & omni tempore, una Lex, & sempiterna & immortalis, continebit. Unusque erit communis quasi magister, & imperator omnium, Deus ille, Legis hujus inventor, disceptator, lator: cui qui non parebit, ipse se fugiet, ac naturam hominis aspernabitur; atque hoc ipso luet maximas poenas, etiamsi cetera supplicia (quae putantur) effugerit. Cic. de Repub. l. 3. ex Lactant. l. 6. c. 8.

we may say, one common master and ruler over all, even G O D, the proposer, debater, and enacter of this Law: to whom he that will not yield obedience must fly from himself, and shake off the nature of a man; in doing which very thing he suffers the highest punishments, tho he shou'd escape those other torments which are commonly believ'd. It was a saying of Dr. W H I T C H C O T, that natural Religion was eleven parts in twelve of all Religion: and P A U L was so farr from exhorting his disciples of the Gentiles against this Moral Law of Nature (as he justly did against the Levitical Law of M O S E S) that the F A I T H which he recommends to them instead of this last Law (even that F A I T H Gal. v. 6. which works by love, and whose end is to beget a Ibid. vi. 15. new creature) is made by him radically productive of the Moral Law. The fruit of the Spirit (says Ibid. v. 22, (he) is love, joy, peace, patience, gentleness, goodness, fidelity, meekness, temperance: against such there is no Law. 23. No certainly, neither against any other virtue; nor wou'd any Religion be receiv'd in the world, that shou'd go about to contradict or annul them: and tis evident to all, but such as will not see, that one main design of Christianity was to improve and perfect the knowlege of the Law of nature, as well as to facilitate and inforce the observation of the same; tho tis very true, that when we have done all, we have done but our duty, and that but ever imperfectly. J A M E S was also in the right, by pressing upon the Jews the WORKS of the Levitical no less than those of the Moral Law, for the reasons given before (particularly in the 12th chapter) and therefore, needless to be repeated here, since he recommends F A I T H as earnestly as P A U L himself. Now, all this is very intelligible, easy, and consistent, according to the Nazaren System: whereas nothing in the world is more intricate, difficult,

or incoherent, than the controversies between the Protestants and the Papists, about *Merit of Works* and *Justification by Faith*, occasion'd by the seeming contradiction of JAMES to PAUL. But these are nice speculations, of which those plain men never dreamt; being founded on Scholastic distinctions and Roman Law-terms, to which most of the Apostles were utter strangers. *Good works*, as moral duties are commonly call'd, were no part of the question at all: not the WORKS mention'd by PAUL and JAMES, in contradistinction to FAITH. The Papists are no better agreed among themselves in all their divisions and subdivisions, than the Protestants, who are no less split about these points of Merit and Justification; which, as we all know, have occasion'd as much looseness and libertinism on the one hand, as they have produc'd superstition and bigotry on the other. Antinomianism and Supererogation are the two monstrous extremes of their disputes. They keep still a woful pother: and I foresee that many of 'em (not onely on account of this explication, but also for what I have deliver'd concerning the perpetual observation of the Levitical Law) will say, that I advance a new Christianity, tho I think it undoubtedly to be the old one. But minding the calumny of some as little as they do the truth, I leave all impartial persons to examine; if what has been written by either side on these heads, be for the most part any thing else but elaborate nonsense, mere jingle, and logomachy? and consequently, whether all the barbarous stuff that's deliver'd in the Scholastic Systems concerning *Faith* and *Justification*, be not an after-device of Priests to puzzle the cause; and so to raise scruples in mens consciences (to the bringing of them often into despair) that they may have recourse to them for the solution of their doubts, to the no small increase

increase both of their pay and their power? However the matter may appear to others, I am persuaded that my explication was the real sense of JAMES; and I am every whit as certain, that he can never be made to agree with PAUL, as well as that PAUL can never be fairly made to agree with him, on any other foot. As to the substance of what our modern Divines wou'd seem to contend about, for my own part I readily acknowledge that no man can merit any thing of God by his good works, be they ever so many or great; and that whatever he receives is by mere grace and mercy, even the best of us being, strictly speaking, unprofitable servants: but I deny that any thing of all this matter is meant in the phrase of *Justification by Works* or *by Faith* in the whole *New Testament*.

C H A P. XVIII.

HITHERTO then we have partly seen what the true original Christianity in many things was not, and partly what it was; especially as to the Jews perpetual keeping of their own rites, and the cohabiting Gentiles no less perpetual observation of the Noachic precept about blood: while both of 'em agreed to the necessity of Regeneration, and subjecting themselves to JESUS as their spiritual Lawgiver. To these things I cou'd add much greater lustre, had I time to digest and methodize my observations touching the rise and growth of Christianity. There it wou'd appear, how strangely the most part of the Jews of his time mistook the true design of JESUS, having been deluded and prepossessed by the artifice of a prevailing faction, that had not the sincere interest of their country, nor the

purity of their Constitution, at heart. But they were chiefly irritated against him by the influence of a rampant Priesthood, who, for their own profit and power, had openly and shamelessly perverted the Law of Moses; rather than to see which restor'd to its primitive institution, and themselves oblig'd to change their formal into a spiritual life, they wou'd not have even the kingdom restor'd at that time to Israel. Yet for rejecting the salutiferous doctrine and admonitions of the holy Jesus, they brought upon themselves swift destruction. And indeed the divine wisdom of the Christian Institution (the original, uncorrupted, easy, intelligible Institution; but not the fabulous systems, lucrative inventions, burthensom superstitions, and unintelligible jargon early substituted to it) is so apparent in enlightning the minds and regulating the conduct of men, in procuring their highest happiness in all respects, particularly in the admirable Economy of uniting the Jews and the Gentiles into one Family, and thus leading all the world to the knowledge of one God: that nothing, I am persuaded, but a perfect ignorance of what it really is, or private interest, a worse enemy to truth than ignorance, cou'd keep any from cheerfully imbracing it. I do not onely mean those who declare against both name and thing, and this somtimes very justly as they are represented to them: but likewise too many of those who make loud professions of their Christianity, nay, and who restrain the benefits of it solely to those of their own cant and livery; tho the articles of their belief and the rubric of their practice, be manifestly the very things which JESUS went about to destroy. A change in names makes no change in things: and tho I cannot say, that I wish there was but one communion of Christians, since this in nature is impossible, nei-
ther

ther is it in it self defireable, nor the thing intended by the communion of Saints: yet I wish with all my heart that there were none in any communion, whose CHRISTIANITY, notwithstanding all their boasts and pretences, cou'd be shown to be down-right ANTICHRISTIANISM; for we must govern our selves by things, as I said just now, and not by names, which frequently continue after things are chang'd quite contrary to what those words at first imported. And for God's sake, Sir, what can be more Antichristian than heathenish Polytheism and Idolatry, pious Frauds and superstitious Fopperies, sophistical Subtilties and unintelligible Mysteries, damning Uncharitableness and inhuman Persecutions, vain Pomp and ridiculous Pageantry, absolute Authority over conscience, and making temporal Rewards or Punishments the means of supporting Religion? what can be less Christian, I say, or more contrary to the design of JESUS CHRIST, than all these things I have here enumerated; with a factious engrossing of Gain, and an artful propagation of Ignorance to support the Trade, or whatever else our Deliverer oppos'd in the degenerate Jew and in the bewilder'd Gentile? These and the like corruptions wherever they are found, be it in any one society, or among several societies calling themselves Christians, are yet the very reverse of genuine CHRISTIANITY, and consequently ANTICHRISTIANISM. But tis no wonder Christianity shou'd in process of time be misunderstood or misrepresented, when the author of it was very early disbeliev'd by his own nearest relations, and charg'd with madness, nay and dealing with the Devil, by others: this charge of madness having been often since laid by men of craft and interest against those, that wou'd generously risk life or reputation,

Pag. 26.

tion, an employment or a benefice, for the sake of truth and the public good, or whatever they take to be such. Is not Mr. WHISTON (for example) reckon'd mad, tho no man in England writes more coherently? This truth bids me willingly acknowledge: and yet I am much farther than his detractors from allowing all his premisses, or admitting every one of his consequences to be just. Sit still, says the sly Pharisee, if you are a private man, and sooth the knavery of the great, that you may enjoy their protection: or if you chance to be a man in power, keep what you have got by what title soever, and be sure to make the most of the people's folly; for he that does otherwise is a madman. This language I have heard a thousand times, and as many times rejected such advice. Tho I declar'd long since that I love not to call names in Religion, and that I am neither of PAUL, nor of CEPHAS, nor of APOLLOS; yet since men are sure to be distinguish'd by their friends as well as by their foes, and that the designations they bestow are often inexpressive, but generally false or improper: so I own that, for more than one reason, I have less exception to the name of N A Z A R E N than to any other. My first reason is, because this name, as I have already prov'd, was that which the followers of J E S U S took to themselves at the beginning, even preferably to that of CHRISTIAN, which was given them next: and my second reason is, because this name was afterwards peculiarly apply'd to those, who understood the design of Christianity as I do; namely, that the Jewish nation shou'd always continue to observe their own Law under the Christian dispensation, tho nevertheless the disciples from among the Gentiles do stand under no obligation to keep that Law, either as it is ceremonial or judicial. This is the sense wherein

I understand NAZARENISM, as now betokening a distinct society of Christians: for with regard to any other opinions justly or unjustly attributed to the old NAZARENS, as I have neither expressly adopted nor defended such; so they do not enter into the idea I give of the word, and therefore am not hereafter to be charg'd, with what I before-hand disclaim.

CHAP. XIX.

AS most of the Jews mistook the design of JESUS, so the Gentiles did as much mistake the few Jews who adher'd to him. You know already to what a prodigious degree Imposture and Credulity went hand in hand in the primitive times of the Christian Church; the last being as ready to receive, as the first was to forge books, under the names of the Apostles, their companions, and immediate successors. IRENEUS, speaking of those primitive false coiners, says, that *in order to*⁸⁴ *amaze the simple, and such as are ignorant of the Scriptures of truth, they obtrude upon them an inexpressible multitude of apocryphal and spurious Scriptures of their own devising.* This evil grew afterwards not onely greater, when the Monks were the sole transcribers, and (I might say in a manner) the sole keepers of all books good or bad; but in process of time it became almost absolutely impossible to distinguish history from⁸⁵ fable, or truth

84. Αμυθητον πληθος αποκρυφων και νοθων γεγραφων, ας αυτοι επλασαν, παρεισφερουσιν εις καταπληξιν των ανοητων, και τα της αληθειας μη επισαιμενων γεγραμματα. Adversus Haeres. l. i. c. 17.

85. Veteribus illis bono animo multa & scribentibus & legentibus, quae aliquo saltem modo instruere possent plebem; quorum
crassis

truth from error, as to the beginnings and original monuments of Christianity. The truth of this you may particularly see in all the treatises written about *the Canon of the New Testament*, where there occur a pretty ample list of difficulties, not to be slightly answer'd, or past over indifferently, by any who are sincere lovers of truth; these being in themselves matters of the highest importance, as well as subjects of the greatest curiosity, and therefore deserving all the pains of the most able Critics to solve them satisfactorily. Those Apocryphal books occasion'd me to start a difficulty formerly in *Amyntor*, which, for ought I yet perceive, must be solv'd at last by my self. It was this. *How the immediate successors of the Apostles cou'd so grossly confound the genuin writings of their masters, with such as were falsely attributed to them? or, since they were in the dark about these matters so early, how came such as follow'd 'em by a better light?* And observing, that such Apocryphal books were often put upon the same foot with the Canonical books by the *Fathers*; and the first cited as *divine Scriptures* no less than the last, or sometimes when such as we reckon divine were disallow'd by them, I propos'd these two other questions: *why all those books, which are cited as genuin by CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, ORIGEN, TERTULLIAN, and the rest of such writers, shou'd not be accounted equally authentic? and what stress ought to be laid on the testimony of those Fathers, who not onely contradict one another, but*

crassis ingeniis, & temerariis Monachis patientiam sequentibus, alta nox etiam clarissimis Christianismi principiis tandem invecata est: fabulis & sophismatis veritatis regnum dolo & vi occupantibus. *Gaspar Barth. in Notis ad Claudiani Mamerti lib, 1. de Statu Animae.*

are often inconsistent with themselves in their relations of the very same facts? Nor do I think it a mean service to true Religion, to set objections of this nature in their clearest light, no less to acquaint the persons concern'd with those scruples of many, which had otherwise perhaps never come to their knowlege; than to put 'em hereby in the right way of removing such, by answering them as fairly as they are propos'd. I am farr from being ignorant that the wooden Priests and Divinelings of all communions (easily distinguish'd from the true Pastors) instead of laboring for satisfaction in such cases to themselves or others, are accustom'd immediatly to rail and raise a cry against those that do, as profest Heretics or conceal'd Atheists: wheras if they had been such indeed, they shou'd the more earnestly study to inform and convince them, which Billingsgate and defamation can never effect. This conduct, on the contrary, will make them suspect all to be a cheat and imposture, because men naturally cry out when they are touch'd in a tender part. Those Smatterers and Hypocrites, its true, wou'd ordinarily cover their malice with the pretence of zeal: but the real cause of all their passion, is either their ignorance which they wou'd not have expos'd, or their laziness which they wou'd not have disturb'd, with the business of their profession. Tis not possible, however, for any Church or Community to be rid of such; since there's a mob of Priests, a mob of Lawyers, a mob of Gentlemen, a mob of Physicians, and a mob (to be short) in all numerous societies. But the able, the exemplary, and conscientious Divine, who merits all the honor and respect that is sure to be paid him, acts quite another part: for misrepresentation of his very enemies is as little to be fear'd from him, as much
as

as it is to be despis'd from those of another character; and information will be much more agreeably receiv'd from his hands, as it is more likely to be found and sincere. Being therefore sure, that no man will be angry at a question who's able to answer it, I shall here add one more to the difficulties relating to our present *Canon of the New Testament*. 'Tis this. *Since the Nazarens or Ebionites are by all Church-historians unanimously acknowledg'd to have been the first Christians, or those who believ'd in CHRIST among the Jews, with which his own people he liv'd and dy'd, they having been the witnesses of his actions, and of whom were all the Apostles: considering this, I say, how it was possible for them to be the first of all others (for they are made to be the first Heretics) who shou'd form wrong conceptions of the doctrine and designs of JESUS? and how came the Gentiles, who believ'd on him after his death, by the preaching of persons that never knew him, to have truer notions of these things; or whence they cou'd have their information, but from the believing Jews? To the customs of the Jews I grant the Gentiles were most averse, and their language they so little understood, as to commit on diverse occasions endless and monstrous mistakes, many instances of which may be seen in RHENFERD'S Dissertations before-cited; which (by the way) I approve not in all things, particularly in his confounding the Nazarens of the first with some of those of the third and fourth centuries: yet still the Gentiles must have their water from the Jewish stream, or their cisterns will be very muddy and unwholsom. But not to digress, tho I am my self most firmly rooted in what I am thoroly perswaded to be the right belief concerning CHRIST and CHRISTIANITY, which I shall particularly deduce in the account of my Religion,*

Religion, which I have often promis'd you; yet, for the sake of others, I wou'd passionately recommend (in the mean time) the clear solution of this difficulty about the Ebionites to the most capable Critics, be they Divines or Laymen: since not onely of old it occasion'd two eminent parties, but even now in a manner in our own days; and that one of them does affirm, the true Christianity of the Jews was overborn and destroy'd by the more numerous Gentiles, who, not enduring the reasonableness and simplicity of the same, brought into it by degrees the peculiar expressions and mysteries of Heathenism, the abstruse doctrines and distinctions of their Philosophers, an insupportable pontifical Hierarchy, and even the altars, offerings, the sacred rites and ceremonies of their Priests, tho they wou'd not so much as tolerate those of the Jews, and yet owning them to be divinely instituted. The Socinians and other Unitarians no less confidently assert, that the Gentiles did likewise introduce into Christianity their former polytheism and deifying of dead men: thus retaining (add they) the name of Christianity, but quite altering the thing; and suteing it, as their interest or the necessity of their affairs requir'd, to all the opinions and customs any where in vogue from that time to this. The time-serving and fickleness of many Christians are too manifest to be deny'd. This is the nature of man. Yet for all the pretences of the Socinians to reason, they are in many things relating to this very subject, and in several other respects, not proper here to be mention'd, guilty of as palpable absurdities and contradictions, as any sect whatsoever: so little consistent is man in his opinions, any more than in his actions.

CHAP. XX.

TO solve the said difficulty then about the Ebionites, it will not be enough barely to quote our *Gospels*, *Epistles*, and the *Acts of the Apostles*; but their genuineness and integrity must be likewise establish'd by those arguments, of which every good Christian may and ought to be appriz'd: since the Nazarens and Ebionites (whose Synagogues or Churches were numerous, as I said above, over all the orient, as well as particularly in Judea) had a *Gospel* of their own, somtimes call'd by Ecclesiastical writers ⁸⁶ THE GOSPEL OF THE HEBREWS, and somtimes THE GOSPEL OF THE TWELVE APOSTLES; but ignorantly mistaken by IRENEUS, EPIPHANIUS, and their followers for THE GOSPEL OF MATTHEW interpolated. This *Gospel* was publickly read in their Churches as authentic, for above ⁸⁷ 300 years; which might very well be for the most part, and yet the other *Gospels* never be the less authentic also. Doctor GRABE (who has

86. Papias apud Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 39. Ignat. in Epist. ad Smyrn. n. 3. Iren. adversus Haeres. l. 3. c. 11. Clem. Alex. Stromat. l. 1. Origen. homil. 1. in Luc. tract. 8. in Mat. homil. 15. in Jerem. & in tom. 2. comment. in Joan. Just. Martyr (*ut videtur*) in dialogo cum Tryphone. Ambros. in prooem. commentarior. in Luc. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 25 & 27. item l. 4. c. 22. Epiphan. Haeres. 29 & 30, passim. Hieronym. in Catalogo, n. 4. Contra Pelagian. l. 3. c. 1. Comment. in cap. 12. Mat. & alibi saepissimè. Theophylact. comment. in Luc. Tit. Bostr. comment. in eundem.

87. Vid. Augustin. contra Faust. l. 19. c. 18. & contra Cresconium, c. 31. *ut de* HIERONYMO, EPIPHANIO, *reliquisque sileam.*

Doctor ⁸⁸ MILLS and other very able men on his side) is of opinion it was written before the *Gospels* now receiv'd for ⁸⁹ Canonical, as being collected by the eye and ear-witnesses of CHRIST, or by such as were familiarly acquainted with the Apostles, and that it was one of the many mention'd by LUKE. As several celebrated Divines Luc. i. 1. have shewn, that true Christianity might have subsisted, tho any particular book of our present *Canon* had perish'd, or if but any one of our *Gospels* had remain'd: so none of 'em, that ever I cou'd learn, has approv'd the extravagant fancy of IRENEUS, who wou'd needs inferr, that of necessity there cou'd neither be more nor fewer than four *Gospels*; because (says he) there are four regions of the world, and four principal winds. The *Gospel of the Hebrews* therefore might be one of those many mention'd by LUKE, as written before his own; and which he does not reject as false, or erroneous, or for any other reason. But, for ought appears hitherto, tis long ago destroy'd, a few fragments excepted; as are a world of other ancient monuments, that were sacrific'd to blind zeal or too clear-sighted interest: and were it still remaining, it wou'd have finish'd or prevented abundance of Controversies, otherwise not easy to be determin'd; for which reason diverse pious and learned men do now highly regret the loss of the same. Nor were there wanting who wou'd persuade the world, that it lies yet cover'd with dust in the French King's library, as others said it was in other places. It was translated into Greec and Latin by ⁹⁰ JEROM, who very often makes use

88. In Prolegomenis ad Novum Testamentum, pag. v. col. 2. & pag. vi. col. 2.

89. In Spicilegio Patrum, tom. 1. pag. 17, 18.

90. In Catalogo, n. 4. & alibi.

of it, as likewise did ORIGEN and EUSEBIUS; not rejecting it as *Apocryphal*, nor receiving it as *Canonical*, but placing it among what they call'd the *Ecclesiastical books*: that is, books whose antiquity they were not able to deny, but whose authority they were not willing to acknowledge. Long before these the *Gospel of the Hebrews* was by PAPIAS, IGNATIUS, CLEMENS ALEXANDRINUS, and others, alledg'd as a true *Gospel*. So it seems to have been by JUSTIN MARTYR, in his Dialogue with TRYPHON the Jew, as before cited: so was it by HEGESIPPUS, who was himself a Jew, and the father of Ecclesiastical, as HERODOTUS of Civil history. In his list of the first *Heresies*, preserv'd in his own words by EUSEBIUS, he is farr from reckoning the Nazarens or Ebionites among 'em: as good a proof that he was one himself, as that he ⁹¹ delighted to quote their *Gospel*. The same EUSEBIUS says that SYMMACHUS was ⁹² an Ebionite, which is the reason that the Nazarens were by their antagonists call'd ⁹³ Symmachians, as from CERINTHUS Cerinthians, but still by themselves NAZARENS. The Ebionites likewise (or if you had rather, the Nazarens) the Encratites, and the Severians their offspring, rejected the ⁹⁴ *Acts of the Apostles*, with all

91. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 22. Item 3. 25.

92. Hist. Eccles. l. 6. c. 17. Item Ambros. in Galat. Omnis (inquit) credens in Christum, & observans leges factorum, malè intelligit Christum: sicut & Symmachiani (qui ex Phariseis originem trahunt) qui, servatâ omni Lege, Christianos se dicunt.

93. Et nunc sunt quidam Haeretici, qui se Nazarenos vocant; a nonnullis tamen Symmachiani appellantur, & Circumcisionem habent Judaeorum, & Baptismum Christianorum. Augustin. contra Crescon. l. 1. c. 31.

94. Tertullian. contra Marcion. l. 5. c. 2. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 29. & ubi supra in cap. 13. Origen. ubi supra. Epiphani. Haeres. 28. n. 5. & 30. n. 16. Nicephor. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 4. Philastr. Haeres. 36. Item Manichaei apud Augustin. contra Adimant. & alibi. Hieronym. Tom. 6. in Mat.

PAUL's *Epistles*; and the first had other *Acts*, as I took notice before, very different: so that the authority of this book must withall be clearly made out by the historians of the *Canon*, as very easily it may be; especially since CHRYSOSTOM, in a *Homily* he made on the title of the *Acts*, says ⁹⁵ that *in his time* (which was the end of the fourth century) *not onely the author and collector, but even the book it self, was unknown to many.* In short, every side and sect pretended they were the onely true Christians, and each did peremptorily (as many persons now do with as little ground yet equal confidence) appeal to APOSTOLICAL TRADITION AND SUCCESSION, which are the very words of the Heretic ⁹⁶ PTOLOMY to his female correspondent FLORA; and that they onely being the Church, no others were to be heard or credited. One wou'd imagine it was SCHELSTRATE or DODWEL that spoke. But what do I talk of PTOLOMY? the numerous and entire sects of the Valentini-ans, Marcionites, and others, accus'd our *Scriptures* of error and imperfection, of contradiction and insufficiency, without Tradition (forsooth) as we are inform'd by ⁹⁷ IRENEUS: and that such Traditions there were, even some of the reputed Orthodox inferr'd from this and such other texts alledg'd by the Heretics, *we speak wisdom among them that are perfect.* This their adversaries also ⁶ freely acknowledg'd, but asserted the Traditions

Pag. 34.

1 Cor. ii.

6.

95. Πολλοις τουτοι το βιβλιον ουδ' οτι γνωριμον εστι, ουτε αυτο, ουτε ο γραψας αυτο και συνδεις. Homil. in Act.

96. Μαθηση γαρ (θεου διδου) εξης και την τετο αρχην τε και γεννησιν, αξιουμενη της ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΕΩΣ, εν εκ ΔΙΑΔΟΧΗΣ και ημεις παρεληθαμεν, μετα και τε κανονισαι παντας της λογους τη του Σωτηρος διδασκαλια. Epiphan. Haeref. 33. n. 7.

97. Adversus Haeref. l. 1, c. 2.

were solely of their side, loudly glorying that they themselves were the Church and the Orthodox, while those whom others call'd Orthodox were Heretics and Intruders. Every one of them likewise had APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION ever in his mouth. But

*Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites :
Et vitulâ tu dignus, & hic ————— Virgil.*

Just so it is at this day between some of the Protestants and all the Papists (not to speak of the Greeks) each of 'em boasting I know not what *uninterrupted Tradition and Succession*, which are the most chimerical pretences in nature ; and which not only shows how little any oral tradition whatever is to be valu'd; but that no truth of universal concern can possibly depend on so slight a foundation, as the way of bandying about an old story for numerous generations. *To the Law therefore and to the Testimony.* To the *New Testament*, I say ; and to that alone both for doctrine and discipline. So farr is the Succession of Bishops in any ancient See from being uninterrupted, that it is not so much as certain fact, no not for the first half-dozen of pretended Bishops in the See of Rome, from which our English High-church Pharisees are proud to derive their Succession ; which I deliberately and positively defy 'em to make out to me, either in Rome, or here in Great Britain with respect to the first British Bishops. Besides that several even of the Bishops who are not contested, were Schismatics, Heretics, Apostates, Atheists, and monsters of men for wickedness, by the consent of all historians. These were cleanly conveyances for the pure doctrine of CHRIST, farr better preserv'd in the *Scriptures*, and in the successive profession of the faithful.

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Shou'd the validity of Ordination and Ordinances depend on the succession of Sees, it wou'd then be downright Conjuring, and not a reasonable, much less a divine Institution. If Tradition therefore, and this Episcopal succession be not *weak and beggarly elements*; I know not what can be so call'd with any propriety. This Succession, in a word, and Apostolical, that is to say, Oral Tradition, are literally in the Apostle PAUL's words, *Fables and endless Genealogies, ministring questions rather than godly edifying*: intricate questions that can never be solv'd, and division instead of edification. This business puts me in mind of a learned Gentleman, who told me some time since, that he was about to collect the Traditions of his Church since the *Reformation*: and if he goes on with this design, he'll be strangely surpriz'd to find such prodigious variety, alteration, and uncertainty, within so small a compass as from LUTHER's time to ours. The first dispute will be (and no logomachy I assure him) whether his Church was well reform'd or not? The next whether the Clergy or the Laity made this alteration, whether the motives to it were temporal or spiritual? and the third, to name no more, who were precisely the persons, or those that were the chief instruments of the same? Every one of these points will be eagerly contested. Yet they are trifles to the confusion and intricacy he'll meet at every step about the discipline and doctrine, the ceremonies and usages of this Church: when even stories void of all rivalry or interest, where neither point of honor nor preferment is concern'd, are scarce ever told twice the same way. APOSTOLICAL TRADITION, to say it in few words, was the engine us'd formerly, as it is at present, to introduce or countenance whatever men had a mind to advance without the authori-

1 Tim. i. 4.

ty of *Scripture*, or contrary to it : and thus (to give an example in the very point we have been hitherto chiefly clearing) AUGUSTIN, speaking of the Nazarens by name, says, that *tho they*⁹⁸ *acknowledge the son of God to be the Messias, yet they observe all the precepts of the old Law; which the Christians,* continues he, *have learnt by APOSTOLICAL TRADITION not to observe carnally, but to understand spiritually.* JESUS nowhere, the *Gospel* nowhere, forbids the practice of the Jewish Law to the Jews; but the Tradition of the Apostles is here made to supply the defect of their writing. And so this very Tradition is alledg'd by others to warrant the invocation of Saints, prayers for the Dead, the worship of Images, with the whole train of Greec and Romish superstitions, wherof the least footstep appears not in the *Bible*. Again therfore I say, *to the Law and to the Testimony* : since it will not avail any thing to say here (for there's nothing some men will not say) that by *Apostolical Tradition* AUGUSTIN means the written doctrine of the Apostles, till it appears that they have written any such matter. You perceive by this time (MEGALETOR) that what the Mahometans believe concerning CHRIST and his doctrine, were neither the inventions of MAHOMET, nor yet of those Monks who are said to have assisted him in the framing of his *Alcoran*; but that they are as old as the time of the Apo-

98. Nazaraei, cum Dei filium confiteantur esse Christum, omnia tamen veteris Legis observant; quae Christiani per APOSTOLICAM TRADITIONEM non observare carnaliter, sed spiritualiter intelligere, didicerunt. Ebionaei Christum etiam tantummodo hominem dicunt: mandata carnalia legis observant, circumcisionem scilicet carnis, & cetera, quorum oneribus per novum Testamentum liberati sumus. *De Haeres. c. 9.*

stles, having been the sentiments of whole Sects or Churches: and that tho *the Gospel of the Hebrews* be in all probability lost, yet some of those things are founded on another *Gospel* anciently known, and still in some manner existing, attributed to BARNABAS. If in the history of this *Gospel* I have satisfy'd your curiosity, I shall think my time well spent; but infinitely better, if you agree, that, on this occasion, I have set THE ORIGINAL PLAN OF CHRISTIANITY in its due light, as farr as I propos'd to do. I am with inexpressible admiration and respect,

Your most faithful, obedient,

Honflaerdyke,
17th 7th 99.

and devoted Servant,

J. T.

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A N
A C C O U N T
O F A N
I R I S H M A N U S C R I P T
O F T H E
F O U R G O S P E L S ;

W I T H
A Summary of the ancient I R I S H
C H R I S T I A N I T Y, before the
Papal Corruptions and Usurpations:

A N D
The reality of the K E L D E E S (an order
of Lay Religious) against the two last
Bishops of Worcester.

Exempla Majorum perquire, } P A T R I C.
Ubi nihil invenies Fallaciae. }

L O N D O N, Printed in the Y E A R 1718.

AN
ACCOUNT
OF AN
IRISH MANUSCRIPT
OF THE
FOUR GOSPELS

WITH
A SUMMARY of the ancient IRISH
CHRISTIANITY, before the
Papal Corruptions and Usurpations;

AND
The rectify of the KELDILES (an order
of Lay Religious) against the two last
Bishops of Worcester.

London: Printed by J. B. R. C.

LONDON: Printed in the Year 1783.



LETTER II.

*Containing an account of an Irish
Manuscript, &c.*

SECTION I.



A M not without hopes (excellent MEGALETOR) that you may have receiv'd some entertainment from my account of the *Gospel of BARNABAS*, as well as some benefit from the *Original Plan of Christianity*: but I now do my self the honor to give you an account of a *Gospel* that will tend much more to your edification, and by which that *Plan* will be further illustrated. I mean a Latin Manuscript copy, that I have now before me on the Table, of the four *Gospels* generally receiv'd in the Christian world. It is not onely very remarkable and valuable for being a relique of the ancient Irish Church, but moreover for being one of the correctest copies I have ever seen, and finely written in Irish characters: as also for *various Readings* of
some

Pag. 18.

some importance, for some very singular observations, and for a *Catena Patrum* on the Gospel of MATTHEW (intersperst with a few *Notes* in the Irish tongue) that destroys the credit of certain corrupt editions of the FATHERS; wherein some of those passages being manifestly deprav'd, it probably follows that many more are so. There is an interlineary *Gloss* of little worth in another hand, and some odd separate pieces, among whom the *Genealogy of CHRIST*, which I told you in my last *Letter* did not begin the first chapter of MATTHEW. But these *Notes*, and some other books of this kind not yet made public, shew much fuller and better than the incomparable Archbishop USHER (the glory of Ireland) has either done, or for want of such vouchers cou'd do, what was the genuin Christianity of the ancient Irish: for the Irish and the Albanian Scots, with the Western Britons, were the last of all European nations that submitted (since neither the Greeks nor the Waldenses ever truly submitted) to the hierarchy, ceremonies, and doctrine of the Roman Church; tho they became the most eager sticklers for it, with all its superstitions, in after times of ignorance. This late Conformity is unanimously agreed by the Church-historians of all communions. I appeal in particular to BARONIUS and SPANHEMIUS, since domestic writers may be liable to suspicion. And so farr, in effect, were they from acknowledging any subjection to the Church of Rome, or implicitly conforming to its Decrees; that, on the contrary, they did in very many things strenuously oppose it: nor wou'd DAGAN, an Irish Bishop in the beginning

1. In his Discourse of the Religion anciently profess'd by the Irish and the Brittish.

of the 7th century, as much as eat with the Pope's agents (whom he met in Britain) no not under the same ² roof with them; so highly did he abhor their imposing Spirit, as they found COLUMBAN also did, an Abbat of the same nation whom they met in France. In short, the Irish deny'd all communion with them and their Church; as the Roman Church, on the other hand, did then treat the Irish as downright ³ Schismatics and Heretics, whose Clergy, with those of the Britons and Albanian Scots, were not only to be reordain'd (their country Ordination and Sacraments being by the Romanists reputed invalid) but likewise their people to be ⁴ rebaptiz'd, if they desir'd it. Here's the true source of the High-church spirit, that infatuates so many among us at present. Of Rome it is, and by this you may perceive the maintainers of it to be sailing for Rome: the spirit, I say, of reordaining and rebaptizing, of unchurching and unchristianing. The best argument that Pope HONORIUS the first cou'd use, towards reducing the Irish to the obedience

2. Cognoscentes Britones, Scottos meliores putavimus. Scottos verò per Daganum Episcopum in hanc insulam, & Columbanum Abbatem in Galliis, venientem, nihil discrepare a Britonibus in eorum conversatione didicimus: nam Daganus Episcopus ad nos veniens, non solum cibum nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio quo vescebamur, sumere voluit. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 4.*

3. Sed perstitit ille [*Wilfridus*] negare, ne ab Episcopis Scottis [*uti tunc vocabantur tum Hiberniae, tum borealis incolae Britanniae*] vel ab iis quos Scotti ordinaverunt, consecrationem susciperet, quorum communionem sedes aspernaretur apostolica. *Gul. Malmesbur. de Gest. Pontif. Angl. l. 3. Videas licet ipsius Wilfridi verba in ejus Vita, cap. 12.*

4. Licentiam quoque non habemus eis poscentibus Chrismam vel Eucharistiam dare, ni ante confessi fuerint, velle se nobiscum esse in unitate Ecclesiae: & qui ex horum similiter gente, vel quacunque, de Baptismo suo dubitaverint, baptizentur. *Decret. Pontif. MS. ab Usserio citat.*

of

of the Roman see, was ⁵ exhorting them, not to esteem their own small number, seated in the extremities of the earth, to be wiser than the ancient or modern Churches of CHRIST, that were thro-out the world. Thus CUMMIAN, one of the Irish proselytes to Rome, in his Letter to SEGIAN Abbat of I-Colum-kill, desires him to ⁶ consider, which are likeliest to be in the right concerning the celebration of Easter, the Jews, Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians, agreeing together; or a parcel of Britons and Irish, who are almost the remotest of mortals, and, as I may call them (continues he) the tetterers of the terrestrial globe. And again in the same ⁷ Letter, what can be more perversely thought of our mother the Church, than if we shou'd say? Rome errs, Jerusalem errs, Alexandria errs, Antiochia errs, the whole world errs: but the Irish alone, and the Britons, are in the right. Now, this is still the burden of the song among us, this is the never-failing cant of every Theologaster, and of every little bigot that licks up his spittle: 'are you wiser than 'so many Fathers, Councils, Princes, Nations? 'Do you know more than all the world besides? But it will be very surprizing, when a true ac-

5. Exhortans, ne paucitatem suam, in extremis terrae finibus constitutam, sapientiores antiquis sive modernis, quae per orbem terrae sunt, Christi ecclesiis aestimarent. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 19. Videatur etiam fusius de hac re, l. 3. c. 25.*

6. Vos considerate——utrum Hebraei, & Graeci, & Latini, & Aegyptii, simul in observatione praecipuarum solennitatum uniti; an Britonum Scottorumque particula, qui sunt penè extremi, & (ut ita dicam) mentagrae orbis terrarum. *Cummiani Hiberni ad Segienum Huesensem Abbatem, Epistola MS. in Biblioth. Cotton. & edit. ab Usser. in Epistolar. Hibernicar. Sylloge.*

7. Quid autem pravius sentiri potest de Ecclesia matre, quam si dicamus? Roma errat, Hierosolyma errat, Alexandria errat, Antiochia errat, totus mundus errat: Soli tantum Scoti & Britones rectum sapiunt. *Id. ibid.*

account is given of the solid Learning and pure Christianity, that anciently flourish'd in the most distant even of the British Ilets: and it appears that as low as the 10th century, the famous contest about the celebration of Easter (a question in it self unnecessary and insignificant) was still kept on foot in these Ilands; as Usher judiciously^s observes, out of the anonymous writer of CHRYSOSTOM's *Life*. But useless as this question does otherwise appear, yet we learn by it, that the inhabitants of our British world thought then as highly of Constantinople as of Rome, without servilely subjecting themselves to the decisions of either: and that they judg'd the *New Testament* clear enough, and sufficient of it self, in all things relating to Salvation; being so little acquainted with the *Fathers* (tho by that time grown fond of Tradition) as to have but one such piece among them relating to Ecclesiastical usages. And happy had it been for them, if none of the extravagant fancies of the *Fathers*, nor any other human Traditions in Religion, had been ever disseminated in their Schools or in their Churches. But because Usher has given us only a bare hint, and that the passage of CHRYSOSTOM's *Life* has not been otherwise notic'd (that I know of) nor even as much as translated, I shall here give it you entire. *Certain 9 Clergymen from among those,*

8. *Discourse of the Religion profess'd by the ancient Irish and Brittain,* chap. 10. pag. 114.

9. Κλεικοι γαρ τινες των εις αυτα του τα ακρα της οικουμένης οικουντων, ενεκα τινων εκκλησιαστικων παραδοσεων, τελειας τε τε πασχαλιου και ακειβους καλαληψεως, την βασιλιδα πολιν καταλαβοντες, τω ταυτης το τηνικαυτα πατριαρχη προσεληλυθασι. Μεθοδιος ουτος δεν παλασιν επιδεξεται; υφ' ου ποθεν; και τινος χρειν ηκειν ερωτηθεντες, των Ωκεανικων εφασαν εινα διαλειβων: την τε αλιν, δι' ην επιδε-
δημηκασι

those, who inhabit the extremities of the world, coming upon the account of some ecclesiastical Traditions, but particularly the observation and exact calculation of Easter, to the royal city [of Constantino-ple] did wait upon the Patriarch who at that time resided therein. This was METHODIUS, a man famous in the days of our ancestors; by whom being question'd from what place, and on what occasion, they had travell'd thither? they answer'd, that they came from the ¹⁰ Schools of the Ocean; and withall they clearly explain'd to him, the occasion of coming from their own country. Upon his asking them, what books of holy SCRIPTURE were read there by the inhabitants? they answer'd, that they made use of the ¹¹ Gospel and the Apostle, and of those onely: *But*

δημηκασι, σαφως εξειπον αυτω. Του δε ποιαις της θειας γεγραψης βιβλίοις οι εκεισε καλοισχοι σχολασκουν ειπον? τω Ευαγγελιω και τω Αποστολω χρησηται, και μονοις, απελογησαντο. Ποιαις δε ειρηκοι αυδεις πατερων και διδασκαλων σοιχουσιν εκδουσεν? εν ειναι μονοβιβλιον παρ' αυτοις, απεκειναντο, τε χειροσομου παρ? δι ου την τε πισιν τρανω, και την των εντολων ακειβειαν μαθειν αυτοις εξεγνηετο: πολλης τε διεβεβαιουντο καδ' ηκαστην εξ αυτης πληρουσθης της ωφελειας, ειναι τε παρ? πασιν επερασον αγαπ και ποθεινον τουτι το βιβλιον, φιλοπονως αυτοις αλλω παρ' αλλου μεταγραφουμενον. Ουτως ου πολισ, ως ειπεν, ουκ εδνθ, ου χωρ, της εκ του μεγαλου ωφελειας αμοιρθ εμεινε.

10. Διαλειβη interdum sumitur pro ipso loco, in quo Philosophi & Doctores διαλειβουσι: sic apud Suidam, in hac voce, est inter alios sensus ο τοπθ εν ω τινες μανθανουσι; & de seipso loquens Aulus Gellius, ut alios praeteream, interrogavi (inquit) in Diatriba Taurum, an sapiens irascereetur? dabat enim saepe, post quotidianas lectiones, quaerendi quod quis vellet potestatem. Lib. 1. cap. 26.

11. He means the four Gospels, with the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles, which make up the Canon of the New Testament; as may be seen by BEDE, discoursing upon this very dispute about Easter among the Britons and the Scots: who being situated (says he) farr beyond the Ocean, no body sent them the Synodal decrees concerning the observation of Easter; so that they only carefully observ'd the works of piety and purity, which they learnt out of the writings of the Prophets,

N A Z A R E N U S.

But he further demanding, by what Traditions of the Fathers or Doctors they govern'd themselves? they said, that they had one onely book of the Father CHRYSOSTOM, from whence they happen'd clearly to learn the Faith, and the exact observation of the commands; affirming, that they daily reap'd great advantage by this piece, which was very agreeable and acceptable to all, being handed about from one to another, and diligently transcrib'd: insomuch that there was no city (as they said) nor any of their Clans, or territories, that remain'd void of so great and important a benefit. I shall make no other remark now upon this curious passage, but that as these Oceaners cou'd find no footsteps of Easter in their Gospels and Epistles at home; so if they had observ'd no Easter at all, they needed not to have been at the expense, pains, and hazard, of going a Tradition-hunting from I-columkill all the way to Constantinople. And, pray, is it not as manifest as the sun at noon, to what danger the peace of these nations, and the purity of the faith it self, have been of a long time expos'd? on account of Ceremonies, Habits, stated Fasts and Festivals, with many other such matters; no where commanded in the Gospel, but built upon Traditions extremely dubious, and absolutely useless were they ever so certain. Nor shou'd it pass unobserv'd, that in the Brittish Ilands we had

Prophets, the Evangelists, and the Apostles. Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 5. And speaking in the third chapter of the same book about FINNAN Abbat of Hy, he omitted nothing (says he) of all that he knew was to be perform'd out of the Evangelic, or Apostolic, or Prophetical writings; but, to the utmost of his power, shou'd his obedience by his works. So that no allusion is here made to those Lektionaries of the Greecs, wherof I have seen some; and which are call'd the Gospel and the Apostle, because they contain the Gospels and Epistles of their daily Offices.

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in those days most flourishing Schools; it being likewise a thing very certain, that the Grecian language was taught in them, and particularly in those of Ireland, long before this time. But of this subject at more leisure. In the mean time, Sir, I cannot forbear giving you a memorable instance how cautious we shou'd be, in relying too much on the bold assertions of Critics or Antiquaries: but especially of your dealers in Manuscripts, of whom I know very few whose judgement equals their industry; and among these I must do Mr. WANLEY the justice to acknowledge, that his great ability is ever accompany'd with as great candor. Yet it was not want of judgement, but the vanity to appear ignorant of nothing, that made father SIMON commit so many prodigious blunders and mistakes, about the Irish Manuscript of the *Gospels* which I have happily discover'd; and wherof he treats in the 18th chapter of the first tome of his *Bibliothèque Critique*, where he writes of it professedly. So farr he's in the right, when he says it is a very ¹² fair copy; nor is he void of all skill (tho somewhat mistaken) when he guesses the age of it to be 800 Years. But, misled by the affinity of the characters, he affirms in the first place, that the book is written in old Saxon letters, and that there are some lines in the ¹³ Saxon language at the end of it. This shows that he understood not a word of Saxon, no more than of Irish: for they are all thro-out the book very neat Irish characters; and those lines at the end are every word of 'em pure

12. On trouve dans la Bibliothèque du Roy un beau Manuscript Latin des quatre Evangiles, écrit il y a pour le moins 800 ans, en vieux caracteres Saxons.

13. Il ajoute [le copiste] à la fin de son exemplaire, plusieurs lignes en langage Saxon.

Irish except ¹⁴ *conscriptit hunc librum*, which immediately follow the name of the writer. In the next place he declares without any doubt or hesitation, that the writer was an ¹⁵ English Benedictin monk, and that his name was D O M A E L B R I G T E. When I first read this passage I was perfectly astonish'd, since those lines were as easy to me, as his *Pater noster* cou'd be to Father S I M O N. But being pritty well acquainted with the mysteries of the *Critical Art Divinatory*, I quickly perceiv'd that the good Father, wholly ignorant of the Irish language, and yet knowing that the Benedictins were formerly numerous in England, took *do Maolbrigte* to be *Dom Aelbrigte*; this last being a Saxon name, and *Dom* being as commonly prefixt to the proper names of the Benedictins, as *Sir* is to those of our English knights, or was formerly to the names of those fryers, as Sir J A M E S, Sir J O H N, Sir W I L L I A M. Hence it is plain, that guessing at random is but groping in the dark, where tis a hundred to one but a man loses his way; nor is it less evident, that an Antiquary is not always a good Chronologist, tho tis commonly time alone that makes any thing precious in his sight. As for his changeing the dipthong *ao* into *ae*, directly contrary to the manuscript, it wou'd indeed be reckon'd disingenuous in any but a Hypercritic: who, seeing *Æl* enter into the composition of many Saxon names, might fancy this an error of the copyer: and so a fair opportunity for himself, to demonstrate his acuteness by an emendation. Now the real truth of

14. *Wrote this book.*

15. Le Copiste, qui etoit un Moine Benedictin, prend le nom de Dom Aelbrigte.

the matter is, that *do* is an Irish prepositive particle signifying *to, for, &c*; and *Maolbrigte* the transcriber's name, signifying ¹⁶ *the servant of* BRIGIT, or, according to the Latin analogy, and as the aboriginal Irish were wont to Latinize their own names, BRIGIDIANUS. *Maol* and *Gilla*, two words signifying *servant* with the same difference as *servus* and *famulus* in Latin, begin abundance of Irish names: so MAOLMUIRE is MARIANUS, and likewise GILLAMUIRE; MAOLEASPUIC is EPISCOPIUS, GILLACRIOSD is CHRISTIANUS, GILLACOLUM is COLUMBANUS as well as MAOLCOLUM. Thus MAOLIOSA, GILLAMÓR, with a world of such others, very common in that country and in the highlands of Scotland. Our MULBRIDE then (that we may Anglify him) or BRIGHTMAN, wrote some of this book at the age of eight and twenty. This he tells us himself at the end of MARK, as well as his father's name at the end of JOHN; and so where he wrote the first part, and where he finish'd the second part of his work, together with very particular dates from the lives or deaths of Kings and Clergymen: things of which Father SIMON understood not in this place one syllable. This I object not to him, as if I thought him oblig'd to understand Irish; or as if it were any derogation to his great learning, that he understood Saxon no better. But I think it absurd in any man, to give himself an air of knowing what he does not, which pretence cannot long impose: and it must appear egregiously ridiculous, when such a one will needs betray his ignorance, by takeing upon him to play the Critic in parts

16. *Servus Brigite.*

of Literature he has never study'd; particularly in languages as little intelligible to him, as Chinese or Tartarian are to me. Nor cou'd I forbear laughing, believe me, when I read in him, that the Saxon characters of this book were very fine; but yet different from those, which ¹⁷ Father MABILLON has exhibited in his book *de Re Diplomatica*. As for the *Chain of the Fathers*, or the collection of passages from their works to explain the text of *Scripture*, he says (as I also say) that it is made out of ¹⁸ HILARY, JEROM, AMBROSE, GENNADIUS, BEDE, and others. *Some of these NOTES*, he ¹⁹ says, *are very impertinent*: and ²⁰ lower, *as for the NOTES*, *this work is a collection good enough, when the collector cites good authors; but when he speaks of his own head, he sometimes utters great impertinencies*. The meaning of this in short is, that every thing's impertinent, which contradicts the present editions of the *Fathers*; or the present doctrines, and the novel usages of the Roman Church. There are, I confess, according to the custom of those ages (I wish it were onely of those ages) several allegorical explicati-

17. Pour ce qui est des caracteres Saxons, dans lesquels ces quatre Evangiles sont ecrits, ils sont tres-beaux, & different de ceux que le pere Mabillon a representez dans sa *Diplomatique*.

18. Outre le texte des Evangiles, cet exemplaire contient de petites Gloses interlineaires en Latin sur des certains mots: avec quelques Notes marginales, qui composent une espee de petite Chaine recueillie de St. Hilaire, de St. Ambroise, de St. Jerome, de St. Augustin, de Gennadius, &, ce me semble, de Bede; qui est indique par la seule lettre B, comme St. Jerome est indique par la seule lettre H.

19. Ces Notes, dont il y en a quelques-unes fort impertinentes, &c.

20. Cet ouvrage, quant aux Notes, est une compilation qui est bonne, lorsque le compilateur cite des bons auteurs: mais quand il parle de son chef, il dit quelquesfois de grandes impertinences.

ons, which I think impertinent enough ; and it too often appears, how farr superstitious belief and ceremonious practice had got footing by that time : but these explications are almost all of 'em from approv'd Doctors in the Roman Church, and therefore can be none of those the reverend Father censures. He ought likewise to have remark'd, that in the body of the *Notes* there appear, not onely two different hands, but also two sorts of ink, which shou'd be carefully distinguish'd. He says, its true, there are two different hands, and that, *in* ²¹ *all appearance those impertinent Notes were the compiler's own; part of 'em being in the Saxon, and part in the Latin characters, wherof these last are much the latest.* Whereas what appears in the Latin characters, as he calls them, are never mixt with the *Notes* at all ; but ever separate by themselves, being added so lately as to be properly no part of the book : and besides, that they are not explicatory *Notes* in the least, but directions about the division of the text, and the portions to be read at certain times and occasions ; which some possessor of the book, long after the finishing of it, inserted for his own use and convenience. I agree with him in what he says of the interlineary *Gloss*, which is good for little, and, as I said before, by another hand. But he's quite out in what he affirms of the ²² *various Readings*, which he wou'd have found to be considerable, had he read over the whole text with any application : nor does he

21. Ces Notes — qui sont apparemment du Compilateur, viennent de deux mains ; car les unes sont en caracteres Saxons, & les autres en caracteres Latins : celles-ci sont beaucoup plus recentes.

22. Quant au fond du texte des Evangiles, il differe peu de notre vulgate, si l'on excepte un tres-petit nombre d'endroits.

make any mention of the Irish, or, as he wou'd call them, the Saxon scraps, that are scatter'd here and there occasionally. Thus, Sir, I have barely represented matter of fact to you, without any of those literary excursions which naturally offer'd themselves. But e'er I finish this account, you wo'nt be ill pleas'd, I dare say, if I present you with one or two of the *Simonian impertinent Notes*, as a specimen of the rest. On these words therefore, *whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth, shall be loos'd in heaven*, is made this ²³ Note. *The Bishops and Priests make their boasts from this place, and borrow some of the pride of the Pharisees; as if they cou'd damn the innocent, or absolve the guilty: wheras with the Lord not the sentence of the priest, but the life of the sinner is examin'd. In the same manner that the priest cleanses the leprous persons in Leviticus (not that the priests are able to make them clean or unclean, but that they know by certain signs those who are leprous and those who are not) so the Bishop in this place binds or looses, not those who are innocent or guilty: but after he has, according to his office, heard the variety of sinners, he then knows who is to be bound, and who is to be loos'd. That is, he declares them penitent or obstinate, and consequently that they are already forgiven, or remain still guilty. His sentence does nothing*

Mat. xvi.

19.

23. Ex hoc loco Episcopi & Presbyteri jactant, & assumunt aliquod de superbia Pharizaeorum, ut vel damnent innocentes vel solvant; cum apud dominum non sententia, sed reorum vita, quaeratur. Quo modo, in *Levitico*, Sacerdos leprosum mundum facit (non quod Sacerdotes leprosos mundos vel immundos faciant, sed quod habeant notitiam leprosi & non leprosi) sic & hic alligat vel solvit Episcopus, non eos qui innocentes sunt vel noxii: sed, pro officio suo, cum peccatorum audierit varietates; scit qui ligandus sit, qui solvendus.

else in this case, tho his advice may be very useful. How much more reasonable is this doctrine, than the blasphemous position lately advanc'd by some High-churchmen in England; namely, that God stands bound to expect, yea and to ratify the sentence of the Priest, even tho erroneously pronounc'd: wheras, in the *New Testament*, there's not a syllable of confessing to the Priest at all.

Jam. v. 16. Confess your faults one to another, is not onely the plainest text in the world, but also the most approv'd by common sense: for he that commits a fault, if against any particular person, ought readily to acknowledge it, and ask his pardon; or let it be of what nature soever, he ought seriously to advise (for the quieting of his mind, if it be a doubtful or difficult case) with some grave and experienc'd person, be it Layman or Clergyman, who yet have no other authority but what is merely declarative. The contrary wou'd be Magic. By the way, you may perceive from this author, that Priestcraft was breaking in a main in his time; and I beg you to enquire among your learned acquaintance, of the Irish college in Lovain, who is MANCHANUS? a writer illustrious in this collection, concerning whom, tho there be many of this name, I have my own conjectures. But to return to our *Notes*, it is likewise impertinent no doubt, in Father SIMON's account, that it is said the reason of blessing the Lord's Supper ²⁴ was, *that it might be mystically made his body; and, in a spiritual sense this bread is the Church, which is the body of CHRIST.* Nor will it by some be counted less

24. Ut mysticè corpus ejus fieret — spiritualiter panis hic Ecclesia est, quae est corpus Christi.

impertinent, that the Supper is call'd, *the* ²⁵ *mystery and figure of the body of CHRIST, and the first figure of the New Testament* (hinting Baptism to be the second) or that tis added, *this figure or representation is daily reiterated, it is receiv'd in faith:* and that concerning these words, *this is my body,* it is written among other ²⁶ things, *this he said lest our faith shou'd stagger about the daily sacrifice in the Church, as if it were the body of CHRIST, since CHRIST sits on the right hand of God.* You see Transubstantion was then getting ground. Is not this detach'd Note that follows, the most extravagant of all? will it not be so accounted by some nearer ²⁷ home? *Let the Priests heap up knowledge, rather than riches: neither let them be asham'd to learn from those Laymen, who know what belongs to the office of the Priests.* Wo be to the author of this Note, tho he shou'd prove to be a Father of the Church. But, as I hinted before, I hope for a fitter occasion to put this book in its due light, haveing had it in my custody above half a year. *Ardmacha, commonly Armagh, being the place where the book was finish'd, I shall cite it always hereafter (when occasion offers) by the name of Codex Armachanus, or the book of Armagh.* The person who convey'd it out of ²⁸ France, was under the same illusion with Father

25. *Mysterium & figura corporis Christi — prima novi Testamenti figura — Haec verò figura quotidie iteratur, accipitur in fide &c.*

26. *Et hoc dixit, ne nostra dubitaret fides de sacrificio quotidiano in Ecclesia, quasi corpus Christi esset; quoniam Christus in dextra Dei sedet.*

27. *Augeant Sacerdotes scientiam, magis quàm divitias; & non erubescant discere a Laicis, qui noverant quae ad officium pertinent Sacerdotum.*

28. *Since the writing of this Dissertation, in the Year 1709, the*

ther SIMON, that it was the work of an Anglosaxon; till I undeceiv'd him, together with some others of great distinction.

SECTION II.

NOW upon the whole, what from this manuscript Commentator, and some other authors not yet better known, tho not less ancient, if not indeed more so: and what from the writings of Archbishop USHER, and other learned men, it may be most evidently made out; that the Religion which the aboriginal Irish profess, especially before the ninth century, was not that, wherof the bulk of their posterity are so fond at this day. Christianity got footing in some parts of Ireland, long before PALLADIUS and PATRIC, the suppos'd first preachers of it there: and after the thorough settling of it by this last in the beginning of the 5th century, *tho the Irish differ'd in their laws from other people (as JONAS²⁹ says in the life of COLUMBAN) yet they flourish'd in the vigor of Christian doctrine, and excelled the faith of all the neighboring nations.* This faith consisted in a right notion of God, and the constant practice of virtue: for the enormities which render'd 'em afterwards infamous, if not literally barbarous (begging my country's pardon for the expression) ensu'd upon their changing the purity and simplicity of their faith,

book is come into England; being purchas'd by the Earl of OXFORD, in whose large Collection of Manuscripts it is not the least valuable piece.

29. Gens, quanquam absque reliquarum gentium legibus, tamen in Christiani vigoris dogmate florens, omnium vicinarum gentium fidem praepollet. cap. 1.

into

into gross Idolatry and endless Superstitions; so true is that remark of SALVIAN the Presbyter, who was call'd *the master of the Bishops of his time*, that *30 Vices abound there most, where the Romans most prevail*. Nor is there any thing we ought to observe more narrowly, because nothing more nearly touches us; than that as authority in matters of judgement, necessarily causes laziness and stupidity: so from ignorance thus establish'd under the management of Priests, whose interest leads them to continue it, no less naturally proceed loose morals and savage customs. This is the genuin effect of priestly power in all places, and became most conspicuously so in Ireland: for it cannot be deny'd that the inhabitants grew to such a pitch of brutality, their Princes and Lords perpetually imbruing their hands in one another's blood, and inhumanly tyrannizing over the inferior sort; that, according to the best *Chronicles* of the Iland, the state of the country was infinitely better under Heathenism, than under their degenerate Christianity. The common people in the mean time grew idle, poor, and profligate; and the vicious illiterate gentry cou'd deny those Clergymen nothing, who, for money, lands, or immunities from the civil power, engag'd that God wou'd pardon all their crimes, while they were silly enough to believe them. Before this stupendous change (an effect that will ever follow from the like cause) our ancestors were to all others *31 a harmless race; and to the English (whom they entertain'd, furnish'd with books, and instructed gratis) a most friendly nation*, as venera-

30. Ibi praecipue vitia, ubicunque Romani. *De Gubernat. Dei*, lib. 6.

31. Egfridus — vastavit miserè Gentem innoxiam, & nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 4. c. 26.*

ble BEDE ³² records to their honor: or, as WILLIAM of Malmesbury speaking of those ³³ times, *the Irish were an innocent kind of people, of unfeign'd simplicity, and never designing any mischief; which is the true spirit of the Gospel, but unalter'd, unmixt, and unadulterated.* The Saxons were indebted to them for their letters, no less than for their learning; but much more oblig'd both to them and the Albanian Scots (whom I commonly so call to distinguish them from the Irish Scots) for the planting of a better Christianity in the northern parts of England, than AUSTIN, the Pope's factor, had in the southern. I shall here therefore draw up A SUMMARY OF THE ANCIENT IRISH CHRISTIANITY, which I recommend not to you merely for being theirs (MEGALETOR) when most of their own descendants are since grown so averse to it: but as plain matter of fact, which you are at liberty to approve or disapprove, according as you find it consonant or not to *Scripture* and Reason. This liberty must be ever as readily given, as justly taken. I referr many of the historical proofs to the other book on this subject, which I have more than once insinuated in the preceding Section. To this I generally keep, unless where I express my self in the very words of ³⁴ others, which the thread of the discourse many times occasions me to do. In the mean while I am afraid, that I may still too much entrench

32. Quos omnes [*Anglos*] Scoti libentissimè suscipientes, victum eis quotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum, & magisterium gratuitum præbere curabant. *Id. l. 3. c. 27.*

33. Hibernense genus hominum innocens, genuina simplicitate, nihil unquam mali moliens. *De gestis Anglor. l. 1. c. 3.*

34. *Such was my resolution when I wrote this SUMMARY: but some, who have since perus'd it, prevail'd with me to add more of my proofs.*

upon your patience, by such a number of quotations out of ancient authors ; which yet are absolutely necessary in all facts, but more especially in matters of this nature.

I N the first place then, the Irish did promiscuously read the *Scriptures* in the vulgar tongue of their Iland, as their onely rule of faith: and their Doctors were so remarkably eminent beyond others in assiduously teaching and explaining the same, that men flock'd thither to study it from all the neighboring nations, as to some common³⁵ University; philological, philosophical, and theological Learning happily flourishing in that peaceable corner, while the other parts of the world were miserably distracted by civil dissentions or foren invasions. These are things confirm'd by unsuspected witnesses: and tis the common elege bestow'd on their holy men (such as³⁶ COLUMBANUS, ³⁷ GALLUS, and others)

I.

35. Beda in locis plurimis: Gulielm. Malmesbur. quem jam citavimus: Alcuinus de vita Willibrordi: Aldhelm. Malmesbur. in Epist. ad Eadfrid: Notkerus Balbulus in vita Caroli magni: Vincent. in speculo Histor. l. 23. c. 173: Antonin. Chronic. tit. 14. c. 4. §. 12: Joan. Rossus Warwic. lib. de Regibus: Eric. Antissiodorensis in vitis Sanctor. & speciatim sancti Germani, cap. 168: Autor vitae Sulgen: autor vitae Gildae Badonici: cum aliis ex antiquioribus innumeris, ut Camdenum & recentiores quoscunque taceam.

36. Evāgelicum clipeum tenens laevâ [Columbanus] ensemque ancipitem tenens dextrâ, contra immanes cuneos hominum pugnaturus coepit pergere; ne frustrato labore, quo potissimo ingenio sudaverat [puerulus] in Grammatica, Rhetorica, & Geometria, & divinarum Scripturarum serie, seculi illecebris occuparetur. Jonas in vita Columbani, cap. 12. Quem [Columbanum] cum vir sanctus [Senile] ingenii sagacis esse videret, omnium divinarum Scripturarum studiis imbuit. Ibid.

37. Supernâ quoque gratia se praeveniente, tanto studio divinas epotavit [Gallus] Scripturas, ut de thesauro suo nova proferre posset & vetera. — Obscura autem Scripturarum tam sapienter, scire volentibus, referavit; ut cuncti, qui ejus [utpote pueri] prudentiam & sermones audierant, admiratione eum & laude dignissimum judicarent. Walafridus Strabo in vita Sancti Galli, l. 1. c. 1.

that

that they had diligently study'd the *Scriptures*, and explain'd them to others even in their childhood. Tis for teaching the *Scriptures*, in fine, that you'll find the Irish Schools of those times ³⁸ celebrated; but never for reading Lectures on the *Fathers*, or handing down Tradition: and tis not improbable, that in those tumultuous times, the Muses may have fled from the noise of arms, to these recesses, which the Roman eagles had never disturb'd.

II. IN their Temples they had no images or statues, which SEDULIUS, one of their first Divines, expressly ³⁹ condemns, and which others of 'em brand as heathenish and idolatrous. The Clergy, officiating in those Temples, had no gorgeous vestments; rather dazling the eye and distracting the imagination, than informing the mind or edifying the heart. There were not, to the same amuzing purposes, any burning of incense or day-light candles; no costly services of plate, the great COLUMBAN himself being content with ⁴⁰ brass vessels in the administration of the Lord's Supper. Neither had they Canonical hours, or alternate singing in Choirs; which, with many other such Romish customs, were ⁴¹ intro-

38. Venit etiam tunc temporis de Hibernia pontifex quidam, nomine Agilbertus, natione quidem Gallus; sed tunc, legendarum gratiâ Scripturarum, in Hibernia non modico tempore dimoratus. *Gervas. Dorobern. Act. Pontif. Cantaur. in Sancto Honorio.*

39. Recedentes a lumine veritatis sapientes, quasi qui invenissent quo modo invisibilis Deus per simulacrum visibile coleretur. *In Roman. 1. Deus nec in metallo aut saxo cognoscitur. Claudius Scotus, l. 2. in Mat.*

40. Praeceptor meus beatus Columbanus in vasis aeneis Domino solet sacrificium offerre salutis. *Walafrid. Strab. in vita Galli, l. 1. c. 18.*

41. Apostolicas Sanctiones, ac Decreta Sanctorum Patrum, praecipueque consuetudines Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, in cunctis Ecclesiis

introduc'd by MALACHIAs Archbishop of Armagh, in the 11th century. Nor had they any such other methods, since but too frequently practis'd, of pompous, operose, and sumptuous worship; so visibly foren to the design and example of the Gospel, nay so contrary to the precepts of it.

THEIR Liturgy was very different from that of the Roman Church, or rather their Liturgies; for they had several in the several parts of the Island. Yet this bred no manner of dissention among them, till the Bishops of Rome having first gain'd their Princes (a stratagem ordinary with them to this hour) wou'd needs make 'em their tools and drudges to force their own subjects, since the Popes cou'd not by their emissaries seduce them, into *Uniformity*; I mean into subjection, which is ever the signification of this word. But GILBERT Bishop of Limerick, the Pope's first Irish Legat (who in the 11th century wrote for their use what he calls *the 42 Canonical custom of saying evening and morning prayers, and of performing the office of the whole ecclesiastical order*) tells ⁴³ them, it was to the end those different and schismatical orders, by which almost all Ireland was deluded, might give place to one Catholic and Roman office. Thus late it was, before they quite gave up their liberty and independency. That their

III.

GILLE-
ASPUIC.

Ecclesiis [Malachias] statuebat. Hinc est, quod hodieque in illis ad horas Canonicas cantatur & psallitur, juxta morem universae terrae: nam minimè id ante fiebat, ne in civitate quidem [Ardmacha] cum necdum in civitate, seu in Episcopatu universo, cantare scirent vel vellent. Bernard. in vita Malachiae, cap. 2.

42. Canonicaem consuetudinem in dicendis horis, & peragendo totius Ecclesiastici ordinis officio. Prolog. de usu Ecclesiastico MS. in Colleg. Ben. Cantabrig. & ab Usserio in Epistolar. Hibernicar. sylloge impress.

43. Ut diversi & schismatici illi Ordines, quibus Hibernia penè tota delusa est, uni Catholico & Romano cedant Officio. Id. ibid.

orders

orders for public prayers were not Roman was the crime, but not charg'd with any other defect.

IV. IT is not seven hundred years, since the Irish did finally and universally receive the Roman use, with its whole train of fopperies; their Baptism before that time having been by immersion, and without consecrated Chrism, wherof L A N-
FRANC, Archbishop of Canterbury, not a little ⁴⁴ complains. Nor had it any of those conjurings, or other superstitious ceremonies, whereby it is since so heathenishly profan'd: and Confirmation was quite in disuse, if at all ever known among them; which we learn from ⁴⁵ BERNARD of Clairval, afterwards sainted. If it be true what BROMPTON tells us, that, before the *Council* of Cashel held at HENRY the Second's desire, it was the custom in many parts of Ireland, for the father, or any other, to dip the child three times in water as soon as it was born; and, if it was a rich man's child, to dip it thrice in ⁴⁶ milk: if this be true, I say, for I have good reason to question it; yet it was introduc'd in that state of barbarity, which I have before describ'd, and wherof I assign'd the true cause.

44. Quod infantes Baptismo, sine Chrismate consecrato, baptizentur. *In Epist. ad Terdelvachum regem Hiberniae.*

45. Usus saluberrimum Confessionis, Sacramentum Confirmationis, contractum Conjugiorum (quae omnia aut ignorabant aut negligebant) Malachias de novo instituit. *In vita Malachiae, cap. 2.*

46. In illo autem Concilio statuerunt, & autoritate summi Pontificis praeceperunt, pueros in Ecclesia baptizari in nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti; & hoc a sacerdotibus fieri praeceperunt: mos enim prius erat per diversa loca Hiberniae, quod statim cum puer nasceretur, pater ipsius, vel quilibet alius, eum mergeret ter in aqua; & si divitis filius esset, ter in lacte mergeretur. *Joan. Bromton in Chronico.*

THE Lord's Supper (which they were wont to term ⁴⁷ *the communion of CHRIST's body and blood*) they receiv'd in both kinds, as a thankful ⁴⁸ commemoration of J E S U S the founder of their faith, and a sign of their brotherly union in all well-doing; to which they bound themselves by this external act, denoting their subjection to the Laws of the *Gospel*; by which alone, and the dictates of reason, they were guided in matters of belief. They did not use any elevation, because they did not dream of the monster of transubstantiation; which, soon after its broaching, was impugn'd by no man more zealously or learnedly, than by JOANNES SCOTUS ERIGENA, whose book was, by the authority of the Pope and the Council of Vercel, flatly ⁴⁹ condemn'd, the onely way they had to confute it: as this method of answering is successively practis'd to this day, by the promoters of error every where, and by those who prefer interest to truth; a method, I repeat it, onely proper to support error, and to put truth it self upon the level with falsehood. No Council or Convocation whatsoever can alter the nature of things, or make that to be false which is true: and for this reason it is, that no wise man ever values their sentence, where tis not back'd with the power of doing mischief.

EOIN ERIGENA.
RINACH.

47. *Sic omnes ferme secundum Scripturas loquuntur.*

48. Suam memoriam nobis reliquit, quemadmodum, si quis peregre proficiscens, aliquod pignus ei, quem diligit, derelinquat; ut quotiescunque illud viderit, possit ejus beneficia & amicitias recordari. *Sedul. in 1 Corinth. 11. Consulatur etiam Notulae ex Catena manuscripta in superiore sectione adductae.*

49. Joannis Scoti liber de Eucharistia lectus est & condemnatus. *Lanfranc. de Eucharist. contra Berengar.* Inter cetera fecit librum de Eucharistia, qui postea lectus est, & condemnatus in Synodo Vercellensi, a Papa Leone celebrata, *Joan. Parisiens. ad annum 877.*

This

This JOHN the Scot (so often confounded with later persons of the same name) having left his own country, betook himself to CHARLES the bald king of France, who entertain'd and distinguish'd him at his court; which was full of learned men from all parts, but especially from Ireland and Scotland. *Why shou'd I mention Ireland,* says ⁵⁰ ERIC of auxerre a contemporary, *not fearing the danger of the sea, and removing almost all of it with a flock of Philosophers, to our shores? wherof by how much any one excells the rest, he undergoes a voluntary exile; and by so much the readier he is to stand before our most wise SOLOMON, and to devote himself to his Service.*

VI.

THEY rejected auricular ⁵¹ Confession, as well as authoritative Absolution; and confess'd to God alone, as believing God alone cou'd forgive Sins: which made I know not whom to exclaim most grievously against such, and to ⁵² say; *that if they cou'd conceal their sins from God, they wou'd no more confess them to him than to the Priest.* A very shrewd and egregious discovery! but laught at by the Irish Laity, who, notwithstanding their native simplicity, cou'd discern this sanctify'd trap laid for their private and public liberty, with all the subtilty of hypocritical Priests. As

50. Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine, penè totam, cum grege Philosophorum, ad litora nostra migrantem? quorum quisquis peritior est, ultrò sibi indicat exilium, ut Solomoni Sapientissimo famuletur ad votum. *Praefat. in poem. de vita sancti Germani.*

51. Christiani nomine, re Pagani: non decimas, non primitias dare, non legitima inire conjugia, non facere confessiones; poenitentias nec qui peteret, nec qui daret penitus inveniri. *Bernard. in Vita Malach cap. 6. ut & idem ubi supra in Nota 45, Usus saluberrimum Confessionis——aut ignorabant aut negligebant.*

52. Deo vis, o homo, confiteri, quem nolens volens latere non possis——forte si Deum latere, sicut hominem, potuisses; nec Deo, plusquam homini, confiteri voluisses.

there

there can be nothing more directly levell'd against common sense, than auricular Confession; nor a more impudent pretension in nature, than authoritative Absolution: so I do not wonder to find the antient Irish Christians, more frequently taxt by the Romish converters of that time, for omitting or refusing the practice of these than of any other injunctions. The reason is manifest. For once a man abandons the use of his understanding so farr, as to make a particular enumeration of his thoughts, words, and actions to another; and to believe that this other will not only keep his secret (tho sworn to the interest of a political community call'd the CHURCH) but that he's likewise able to absolve him from the guilt of all his sins, there is nothing to which such a man cannot be brought: and therefore those Clergymen, who have form'd designs against Liberty civil or religious, are indefatigable to inculcate the necessity of sacerdotal Absolution and particular Confession. Nor are there any surer marks, wherby to distinguish the emissaries of Rome; who are aware that those points, once admitted, will easily draw after them all the rest.

THEY were so farr from pretending to do more good than they were oblig'd, much less to superabound in merit for the benefit of others (but such others as shou'd purchase these superfluities of grace from their executors the Priests) that they readily deny'd all merit of their own; and solely hop'd for salvation from the mercy of God, thro faith in JESUS CHRIST: which faith, as a living root, was to produce the fruit of good works, without which it were barren or dead, and consequently useless; for as CLAUDIUS, one of their most celebrated Divines, observes

VII.

I

from

from some other ⁵³ sage, *the faithful man does not live by righteousness, but the righteous man by faith.* This excellent sentence, cull'd out of numberless testimonies to the same purpose in the oldest writers, comprehends at once and decides the whole controversy.

VIII. THO they neither pray'd to dead men, nor for them; yet, in their public worship, they made an honorable mention of holy persons deceas'd: offering a sacrifice of thanksgiving for their exemplary life and death, but not by way of propitiation for their sins. And tho naming particular men on such occasions, gave a handle for erecting them afterwards into tutelary Saints; yet at that time the Irish were as farr from addressing themselves to saints as to angels. For they were persuaded (to use the words of the just mention'd ⁵⁴ CLAUDIUS) that *while we are in the present world, we may help one another either by our Prayers or by our Counsels; but when we come before the tribunal of CHRIST, neither JOB, nor DANIEL, nor NOAH, can intercede for any one, but every one must bear his own burthen,* which is plain Sense and Scripture. But that which is plain nonsense, and no where authoriz'd in Scripture, I mean the service for the dead, the Irish never practis'd, till they were oblig'd to do it by the Council of ⁵⁵ Cashel, convok'd by order of HENRY the second, in the Year 1172. And tis certain, that nothing

53. Scita est enim Sapientis viri illa sententia, non fidelem vivere ex justitia, sed justum ex fide. *In Galat. 3.*

54. Dum in praesenti seculo sumus, sive orationibus, sive consiliis invicem posse nos adjuvari: cum autem ante tribunal Christi venerimus, nec Job, nec Daniel, nec Noë, rogare posse pro quocumque; sed unumquemque portare onus suum. *In Galat. 6.*

55. Ut extrema officia mortuis reddantur. *can. 7.*

does more contribute to harden the more ignorant sort in a vicious course of life, than this mumme-ry: when they observe such things said and done at burials, with relation to their deceas'd profligate companions; as may persuade 'em they are upon a level with the best, for all their past wickedness.

NONE of those pious men or women, whom they accounted their Saints, were ever canoniz'd by any Pope before the Romish usurpation; not PATRIC himself, nor COLUMBA, nor FURSEUS, nor BRIGIT: for which I need not bring any proof, because no proof can by any be brought to the contrary. MALACHIAS O MORGAI R Arch-^{MAOLMAE} bishop of Armagh (the introducer of the Cistercian ^{DOC.} fryers into that Country in the 11th century) and LAURENCE O TOLE (Archbishop of Dublin ^{LORCAN} in the time of the conquest) are the first that were papally canoniz'd in Ireland. Nor, before the said usurpation, was the very word Purgatory known to the Irish writers, notwithstanding the silly after-fable of PATRIC's cave; of which I might give you an entertaining account, this PATRIC's *Purgatory* being situate in the county where I was born. They did indeed entertain the notion of a middle state of blis or insensibility, a good while before they transform'd it into a place of temporary torment; both alike groundless, and unscriptural.

MATRIMONY was celebrated by the Magistrates, as being truly reckon'd a civil contract appertaining to their jurisdiction; but not solemniz'd by the Priests, till this right was vested in them by the ⁵⁶ Council of Cashel, twice already

⁵⁶. Ut omnes Laici, qui uxores habere velint, eas secundum jus Ecclesiasticum habeant. *Can. 3. vel secundum Girald. Cambrenf. Can. 1.*

cited. They follow'd the *Old Testament* (tho not binding to them) in one brother's marrying the other brother's ⁵⁷ widdow, for which they were ridiculously charg'd with incest by the Romanists, and absurdly reported not to marry at all; tho the thing be impossible in it self, where any society and government subsists. But what is not done after the manner of the Roman Clergy, is in their account as never done, or at least very ill done. One of them says the Irish *did not* ⁵⁸ *marry at all*, contrary to what he says himself elsewhere; and another pretends, that they *did not marry* ⁵⁹ *rightly*: both equally true, that is to say, both absolutely false. We may easily imagine however, that where priests were not employ'd to marry, they had nothing to do about divorce, which makes them brand the Laity with too much facility in this article: and as little concern had they in the probation of Wills, or in other Testamentary affairs; which a mistaken notion of their Sanctity, together with an imaginary power of helping the dead into Paradise, made people foolishly commit to their care. No footstep of a spiritual Court is to be found in that Kingdom, for several hundred years after they became Christians.

57. Judaïsmum inducens [*Clemens Scotus*] judicat justum esse Christiano, ut, si voluerit, viduam fratris defuncti accipiat uxorem. *Bonifac. Epist. ad Zachariam Papam. tom. 3. concilior. par. 1. pag. 382.* Quinimo (quod valde detestabile est, & non tantum fidei, sed & cuilibet honestati valde contrarium) fratres pluribus per Hiberniam locis fratrum defunctorum uxores, non dico ducunt, sed traducunt, imò veriùs seducunt; dum turpiter eas, & tam incestuosè cognoscunt: Veteris in hoc Testamenti non medullae, sed cortici adhaerentes; veteresque libentiùs in vitiis, quàm virtutibus, imitari volentes. *Girald Cambrenf. Topograph. Hibern. distinct. 3. 6. 19.*

58. *Bernard. ubi supra in Notis 45 & 51.*

59. Nondum Matrimonia ritè contrahunt. *Ranulph. Higd. Polychron. de incolarum moribus.*

THAT they paid no ⁶⁰ Tythes till the Council of Cashel, was, to be sure, reckon'd an unpardonable crime by the Roman partisans, who ridiculously deriv'd the divine right of Tythes under the *Gospel* from the *Law of Moses*: as others of 'em, from some Laws of Heathen governments, asserted the natural right of Tythes; tho, unhappily for their pretences, this rather sets up the right of the Laity than of the Clergy. But voluntary Contributions contented those honest Irish Priests of old, who as yet did not aim at a spiritual empire; and so to make the people tributaries, instead of benefactors. Nor can I sufficiently admire the wisdom of our ancestors, for their not establishing at the beginning a *Landed Clergy*; which seldom fails to corrupt Religion, and to imbroider the State. This reflection the Irish found afterwards to be too true to their cost, when, from beginning with small glebes (better supply'd by stated salaries from the public) they promoted their Priests by degrees to great lordships; thus inspiring them to contract a separate interest, as the Pope presented them at length with Independency. Another thing among them most deserving the imitation of the moderns, tho few observe it so exactly as the Hollanders, is; that they seem to have had no more pastors than they had flocks, consonant to these metaphors designing preachers and people: no priests without a title as we phrase it, according to the third canon of the Synod held by PATRIC, AUXILIUS, and ISEARNIN, *Let there be no ⁶¹ vagrant Priest*

60. Non decimas, non primitias dare, &c. Bernard. ubi supra in Nota 51. Nondum decimas vel primitias solvunt. Girald. Cambrensis. ubi supra; & ex eo Ranulph. Higden. in Polychronico. Ut Decimæ dentur Ecclesiæ, de omnibus quæ possidentur. Concil. Cashel. can. 2. vel secundum Giraldum can. 3. anno 1172.

61. Clericus vagus non sit in populo. can. 3.

among the people. This Synod was held in the Year 450.

XII. CELIBACY was not practis'd by the ⁶² Priests, who all marry'd; PATRIC, their pattern after PETER, having been himself the son of CALPHURNIUS a ⁶³ Deacon, and the grandson of POTITUS a Priest: and the Irish, as well as the Brittish Priests (PATRIC's countrymen) were often succeeded by their ⁶⁴ children in the same benefices, for some generations; no complaints being then heard against those disorders, which afterwards overspread the whole Iland, by reason of the expulsion of the marry'd Clergy. Nay the Archbishops of Armagh themselves were not onely marry'd, eight such being recorded, but succeeded hereditarily for fifteen generations, as we are assur'd by BERNARD in the ⁶⁵ Life of MALACHIAs, Archbishop of Armagh: that digdignity having been withall perfectly secular, like many such now in Germany; and the Bishops ab-

62. Siquis Clericus &c— & uxor ejus [*Clerici Nimirum*] si non velato capite ambulaverit, pariter a Laicis contemnentur, & ab Ecclesia separentur. *Ibid. Can. 6.*

63. So writes Probus, Jocelin, and all the writers of his Life, or that have any occasion to mention his Parents.

64. Successivè, & post patres, filii Ecclesias obtinent; non electivè, sed haereditate possidentes, & polluentes Sanctuarium Dei. *Girald. Cambrenf. in Cambriae descript.*

65. Mos pessimus inoleverat quorundam Diabolica ambitione potentum, sedem sanctam [*Ardmacham*] obtentum iri haereditariâ successione; nec enim patiebantur Episcopari, nisi qui essent de tribu & familia sua. Nec enim parum processerat, execranda successio, decursis jam in hac malitia quasi generationibus quindecim. Et eò usque firmaverat sivi jus pravum, imò omni morte puniendam injuriam, generatio mala & adultera; ut, etsi interdum defecissent Clerici de sanguine illo, at Episcopi nunquam. Denique jam octo extiterant ante Celsum viri uxorati, & absque Ordinibus, literati tamen. Inde tota illa per universam Hiberniam de qua multa superiùs diximus, dissolutio Ecclesiasticae disciplinae, censurae enervatio, religionis evacuatio. *cap. 7.*

solute

solute Laymen, about which the Roman satellites made tragical outcries. What, by the way, will become of us, who are of the ancient Irish race? for the Archbishops of Armagh having been Laymen for so long a time, and all the Clergy deriving their Ordination from them, as its commonly thought; it follows, according to the present High-church doctrine, that, for want of a Succession of rightly ordain'd priests, we are very many of us, with all our Ancestors, unavoidably damp'd. C O R M A C the son of C U L L E N A N, a man of eminent learning and piety, author of *Psalter-Cashel* a chronological work of great authority, and likewise king of Munster in the beginning of the 10th century, was his own Bishop of Cashel (as the C Z A R has lately made himself his own Patriarch) which is not the sole example of this kind in Ireland, tho unknown to those who comment on this verse of VIRGIL,

Rex Anius, Rex idem hominum Phoebique Sacerdos.

The passage I have just now cited from BERNARD'S *life of MALACHIAS*, may be further illustrated by another passage, out of the *Extracts of the Register of the Priory of Saint ANDREWS*, cited by that learned Antiquary Sir JAMES DALRYMPLE: whence it appears, that, at Saint ANDREWS in Scotland, there were ⁶⁶ thirteen marry'd successions of the Culdees; *who*, says the author of these *Extracts*, *liv'd rather according to their own judgement and the traditions of men* (he

66. Cultus ibi religiosus deperierat, sicut gens barbara & inculta fuerat. Habebantur tamen in Ecclesia sancti Andreae, quota & qualis ipsa tunc erat, tredecim per successionem carnalem, quos Kelledeos appellant; qui secundum suam aestimationem, & hominum traditionem, magis quam secundum sanctorum statuta Patrum, vivebant. Sed adhuc similiter vivunt. *Excerpt. ex Registro Priorat. S. Andr. penes doctissimum virum, dominum Rob. Sibbald. Equit.*

shou'd have said the examples of the *Gospel*) than according to the *Statutes of the holy Fathers*, and they continue to live so still. Note that this *Register* ends in the beginning of King DAVID Bruce's reign: but more of these Culdees, or more properly Keldees, before I have done.

XIII. THE Irish Monks, according to the ancient tho unscriptural institution of such men, were all fed and cloath'd by the labor of their own ⁶⁷ hands; those retir'd persons liberally imparting to others, instead of extorting provisions from them: but not living idly and vagrantly, like the begging fryars that came after them, to the scandal of Christianity and the disturbance of the world, to which they are a devouring burthen. Wheras the other Monks before them, and also the secular Priests of Scotland and Ireland, were famous over all the world for their virtue, piety, and learning; but particularly for their Conversions, and the Schools that they founded among the Picts, Anglosaxons, Germans, Burgundians, Switzers, and French: as who has not heard of SEDULIUS, COLUMBA, COLUMBANUS, COLMANNUS, AIDANUS, FURSEUS, KILIANUS, GALLUS, BRENDANUS, CLAUDIUS, CLEMENS, SCOTUS ERIGENA, and numberless others? among whom must not be forgot VIRGILIUS, Bishop of Saltzburg,

FEARGHAL.

67. Qui in Monasteriis degunt, cum silentio operantes, suum panem manducent. *Autor vitae Fursei.* Monachum oportet labore manuum suarum vesci & vestiri. *Autor vitae Brendani.* Alii horum laboraverunt; alii arbores pomiferas excoluerunt. Beatus vero Gallus texebat retia; &, misericordiâ dei cooperante, tantam piscium copiam cepit, ut nunquam fratribus defuissent: quinetiam adventantes peregrinos hujusmodi juvit solatio; & de eodem labore assiduas populo benedictiones exhibuit. *Walafrid. Strab. in vita Galli, l. 1. c. 6.*

in the 8th century; who, having been an excellent philosopher and mathematician (farr above the pitch of the age wherein he liv'd) was barbarously persecuted for maintaining the spherical figure of the earth, and the existence of *Antipodes*; which opinion he was forc'd to recant, before he cou'd get out of prison. This shows what stress is to be laid upon forc'd recantations, when they are even made against mathematical evidence. Neither is it to be forgot, that those ancient Monks were of no order, nor indeed men in Orders at all (as ⁶⁸ J E R O M notes among others) but mere Laymen, out of whom the Clergy were commonly chosen: their Monasteries, and particularly those of the Britons, Irish, and Scots, having been Schools of all good literature; and many of 'em in the nature of Universities, as, to name no more, the British and Irish Bangor, the Scottish I-colum-kill and Abernethy, where were taught History, Philosophy, Theology, with all the liberal Sciences.

TEMPERANCE at all times, and one XIV.
moderate meal a day on special occasions (generally taken late, and about three in the afternoon, particularly on Wednesdays and Fridays in the 7th century) was all the fasting of those Monks; as may be seen among other evidences, by the ⁶⁹ Rule of C O L U M B A N, deserving to be publish'd in English: but not abstinence from certain kinds of

68. Alia Monachorum est causa, alia Clericorum: Clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor. *Epist. ad Heliodor.* Breviter respondeo, me in praesenti opusculo non de Clericis disputare, sed Monachum instituere—Ita ergo age & vive in Monasterio, ut Clericus esse merearis—Si te vel populus, vel pontifex civitatis, in Clerum elegerit; agito quae Cleri sunt, &c. *Epist. ad Rustic.*

69. *Videsis Columbani regulam, praesertim caput ejus quintum, ut & decimum tertium de quotidian. poenitent. Monachor.*

food, while they gormandiz'd and surfeited on others, more dainty, nourishing, and luscious. *The children of wisdom*, says ⁷⁰ CLAUDIUS, *do plainly understand; that righteousness consists not either in abstinence or eating: but in patiently bearing hunger when they want, and in temperately feeding when they abound; as well as in seasonably takeing or not takeing those things, wherof not the use but the abuse is blameworthy.* Such accurate language as this they commonly us'd, and not the recommendation of Vigils, or the injunction of Lent, or any other superstitious macerations of this nature: tending to the impairing of health, and, together with frequent holydays, to the manifest obstruction of ⁷¹ industry; but not conducing either to piety or probity, not procureing amendment of life or improvement of understanding.

XV. THE Church was esteem'd to be, not a political empire, or an organiz'd society with a proper subordination of officers and subjects; but the congregation of the faithful thro-out the world, whether visible or invisible, and however differing any where in their discipline or modes of worship; as the Irish differ'd among themselves, using their Christian liberty: and *the Sons of the Church* (that I may speak in the words of

⁷⁰ Ostendens evidenter [*Augustinus citatus a Claudio*] filios sapientiae intelligere, nec in abstinendo, nec in manducando esse justitiam: sed in aequanimitate tolerandi inopiam, & temperantiâ per abundantiam non se corrumpendi; atque opportunè sumendi vel non sumendi ea, quorum non usus, sed concupiscentia, reprehendenda est. *Lib. 2. in Mat.*

⁷¹ The political Lent injoin'd in England for preserving the breed of cattle, appears to have been impolitically enough devis'd by daily experience; there having never been such abundance of cattle bred, as since the non observance of the Acts to this purpose.

⁷² CLAUDIUS) they held to be all those, who, from the beginning of the world till this time, have attain'd to be just and holy. This is a true and generous account: for the *Communion of Saints* consists in faith and holiness, but not in modes and forms. But so little did these western Latitudinarians imagin the universal Church was infallible, or that any particular Church was indefectible or indefeasible, that they frequently bemoan'd their exorbitant corruptions; complaining that the number of the faithful was sometimes so ⁷³ small, as to be hardly, if at all, discernable.

THEY did not in the least acknowledge the headship of the Roman Church, as may be observ'd beyond all controversy in our first *Section*; and likewise from the *Epistle of Pope GREGORY* the first, in the Year 592, inviting them to ⁷⁴ Catholic unity: as also from the *Epistle of* ⁷⁵ LAURENCE Archbishop of Canterbury and his associates, exhorting, beseeching, and conjuring them, to unite with the Roman, which he

XVI.

72. Ecclesiae filii sunt omnes, ab institutione generis humani usque nunc, quotquot justī & sancti esse potuerunt. *lib. 2. in Mat.*

73. Nonnunquam Ecclesia tantis Gentilium pressuris, non solum afflicta, sed & foedata est; ut, si fieri possit, redemptor ipsius eam prorsus deseruisse ad tempus videretur. *Id. Ibid.* Ecclesia non apparebit, impiis tunc Persecutoribus ultra modum saevientibus, &c. *Id. lib. 3. in Mat.*

74. Unde iterum habitâ locutione, charitatem vestram admo-neo, ut (quoniam, deo suffragante, fidei nostrae integritas in causa trium capitulorum inviolata permansit) mentis tumore deposito, tantò citiùs ad matrem vestram, quae filios suos expectat & invitat, Ecclesiam redeatis; quantò vos ab ea quotidie expectari cognoscitis. *Gregor. Regest. l. 2. Epist. 36.*

75. Scripsit cum Episcopis suis adhortatoriam ad eos Epistolam; obsecrans eos & contestans, unitatem pacis, & Catholicae observationis cum ea, quae toto orbe diffusa est, Christi Ecclesia tenere. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 5.*

means

means by the Catholic Church. Neither did they own the supremacy of any other Church on earth, managing all their affairs, both civil and religious, within themselves: but receiving no visitations, palls, indulgences, or any other the like marks of subjection, from the Roman Pontiff, till ⁷⁶ after the tenth and eleventh centuries; yet not refusing to send or receive messages, in case of any transaction with foren Churches. Nor had they any Archbishops (properly so call'd in the Roman sense) till P A P A R O, the Pope's Legat, brought ⁷⁷ four palls to Ireland in the year 1151: the Bishop of Armagh being stil'd by foren or late writers Archbishop, onely out of reverence to the ⁷⁸ feat of P A T R I C, the Apostle of the nation; as others were unwarrantably so stil'd by the same men, tho without any palls or provisions from Rome.

XVII. LASTLY, the so often mention'd ⁷⁹ BERNARD taxes the Irish, with having as many Bishops almost as Churches; and sometimes they had

76. Aegrè satis ferebat [*Malachias*] Hiberniam usque adhuc Pallio caruisse; utpote aemulator sacramentorum, quorum ne uno quolibet gentem suam vellet omnino fraudari. *Bernard. in vita Malach.* Metropoliticae sedi [*Ardmachanae scilicet*] deerat adhuc, & defuerat ab initio, pallii usus. *Id. ibid.*

77. Anno 1151, Papa Eugenius quatuor pallia, per Legatum suum Johannem Papirum, transmisit in Hiberniam, quò nunquam antea Pallium delatum fuerat. *Annal. Melross. pag. 167.* Archiepiscopi vero in Hibernia nulli fuerant, sed tantum se Episcopi invicem consecrabant; donec Johannes Papyrio, Romanae sedis Legatus, non multis retrò annis advenit, &c. *Girald. Cambrenf. Topograph. Hibern. distinct. 3. cap. 17.*

78. Hic [*Gelasius*] primus Archiepiscopus dicitur, quia primo Pallio usus est. Alii verò ante ipsum solo nomine Archiepiscopi & Primates vocabantur, ob reverentiam & honorem Sancti Patricii, tanquam Apostoli illius gentis. *Annal. Hibern. a Camdeno editi: item Casaeus in Chronic. Hibern. ad annum 1174.*

79. Unus Episcopatu uno non esset contentus, sed singulae penè Ecclesiae singulos haberent Episcopos. *In vita Malachiae, c. 7.*

more than one Bishop in one city, nay they had them in villages, as LANFRANC of Canterbury and many others ⁸⁰ assure us. This was but treading in their admir'd PATRIC's steps: who, as ⁸¹ NENNIUS, the most ancient British historian after GILDAS, relates, *founded 365 Churches, and ordain'd 365 Bishops and more (with 3000 Presbyters) in whom was the Spirit of God.* I shall not dispute with any here about the word *Bishop*, which, besides its being an apostolical word, is very significantly us'd by other writers to as many purposes, as *Overseer*, the English of it, can be apply'd: nor shall I deny the convenience, or even the divine right, of many Presbyters having one of their body to preside over them for a time or for life; as there is a chairman among the Justices of a certain district, or as any other assemblies have their president. It matters not, whether such a one (for just causes deposeable) be call'd *Bishop* or *Superintendent*; the first being Greec, and the second Latin for *Overseer*. Whether he be call'd a *Moderator*, I say, or be design'd by any other name of like import, signifies nothing; which ought to take away all scruple against using the word *Bishop*, if it be not preferable to others for being the *Scripture* term. Against such Bishops therefore I have no exception: and such were the Bishops in England at the beginning of the Reformation. But that *Bishop* in Ireland did, in the fifth or sixth centuries (for example) signify a distinct or-

80. Quòd in villis vel civitatibus plures ordinantur. In Epist. ad Terdelvachum regem Hiberniae, apud Baron. ad annum 1089: apud Usser. in Sylloge: & inter opera Lanfranc.

81. Ecclesias fundavit CCCLXV; ordinavit Episcopos eodem numero, & eo amplius, in quibus spiritus Dei erat, CCCLXV: Presbyteros autem usque ad tres mille ordinavit. Hist. Brit. cap. 59: quod & ab aliis quàmplurimis confirmatur; a nobis, cum opus fuerit, adducendis.

CEAL-
LACH.
MAOLIOSA.

der of men, by whom alone Presbyters cou'd be ordain'd, and without which kind of Ordination their ministry were invalid, this I absolutely deny: as I do that those Bishops were Dioceſan *Bishops*, when nothing is plainer than that moſt of 'em had no Biſhopricks at all in our modern ſenſe; not to ſpeak of thoſe numerous Bishops frequently going out of Ireland, not call'd to Biſhopricks abroad, and many of 'em never prefer'd there. This is a fact none can deny. It was but in the 11th century that the Irish Bishops were reduc'd, by the firſt Legate they receiv'd from the Pope, to the number of twenty fix; and that the Kingdom was parcell'd out into Dioceſes, to which thoſe Bishops were ſeverally aſſign'd and limited. The bringing of this to paſs, both for the better preventing of diſputes about Jurisdiction, which by that time had been introduc'd, and for the more effectual ſecuring of the Pope's dominion by theſe his Intendants, was the chief reaſon of convoking the Synod of Rathbreſſail, where the Legate above-mention'd, GILBERT Biſhop of Limerick, preſided; and under him ſat CELSUS of Armach, and MALISIUS of Caſhel, attended by no fewer than fifty Bishops; which ſhows to what a different ſtate Episcopacy was then grown from what it was formerly in Ireland, eſpecially in the two firſt centuries of their Chriſtianity. The right reverend the Biſhop of ⁸² Carlile, to whom all men of Letters are ſo much indebted, owns, that ⁸³ *the Bishops in Scotland* (which were upon the ſame foot with thoſe of Ireland) *had anciently no certain and fixt ſees; but that every Prelate exer-*

⁸². Now of London-Derry.

⁸³. *Scottiſh hiſtorical Library*, chap. 5. pag. 210.

cis'd his Episcopal office and jurisdiction indiscriminately, in whatever part of the kingdom he chanc'd to be. His Lordship is not pleas'd to tell us, what this jurisdiction cou'd be, of Bishops that had no Dioceses; nor how they cou'd agree, when they met together in one place, where each had equal power. I am certain however there was nothing temporal in this jurisdiction. But tho this be not the place I have design'd for such matters, yet I cannot but wonder, if the power and jurisdiction of the Irish and Albanian Bishops were such as some pretend, that O S W A L D, the Saxon King of Northumberland, shou'd not send to those Bishops for persons to instruct his subjects in the Christian Religion; but that he dispatcht his request for such *to their Elders* (as B E D E ⁸⁴ informs us) whether by these be meant the Elders of their Churches, or the Elders of their People: for King O S W A L D, who liv'd so many years in exile among them, and who there became a Christian, must have been well acquainted with their Diocesan Episcopacy, if any such institution had then existed.

SUCH (M E G A L E T O R) was the Christianity of the antient Irish; for I look upon the contents of the seventeen paragraphs before-going, to be points, that, without manifest prevarication, will not admit of any valid exception, of any ambiguous construction, or other sophistical evasion. Most of 'em are positive facts, deliver'd by authentic writers: and the rest confirm'd by the irrecusable witness of the Pope's most

84. Misit ad *maiores natu Scottorum*, inter quos exulans ipse Baptismatis sacramenta, cum his qui secum erant militibus, consecutus erat; petens ut sibi mitteretur Antistes, cujus doctrinâ ac ministerio gens, quam regebat, Anglorum, Dominicae fidei & dona disceret, & susciperet sacramenta. *Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3.*

zealous votaries, who frequently declaim'd against them, as so many intolerable abuses. When BERNARD (for example) in the *life of MALACHIAS*, relates his being made Bishop of Connor, he says that ⁸⁵ *he came not to men but to beasts, absolute barbarians, a stubborn, stiffnecked, and ungovernable generation* (you wou'd think it was some Highchurchman railing against Dissenters) *impious*, continues he, *and abominable, Christians in name, but in reality pagans*. Now, what think you are the grounds of this heavy charge? or what the provocations that put this good *Father* into such a rage? He immediately subjoins them, and they ⁸⁶ are, *that they neither pay'd Tythes nor first-fruit offerings, that they wou'd not be lawfully marry'd* (that is, by the Clergy) *that they refus'd going to Confession; and that neither the Laity wou'd undergo any pennance, nor their Priests impose it*, before the blessed alteration (forsooth) made by MALACHIAS. Such complaints are as valid proofs in their due place, as positive testimonies can possibly be. Besides that it was the common artifice of the Monks, to declaim in the bitterest terms against all men in all countries, who did not blindly receive their doctrines, as wholly dissolute and licentious: till they were reclaim'd, if you believe them, by their powerful preaching; that is, till they became vassals to their Mo-

85. Cùm autem coepisset pro officio suo agere, tunc intellexit homo Dei non ad homines se, sed ad bestias destinatum. Nusquam adhuc tales expertus fuerat, in quantacunque barbarie: nusquam repererat sic protervos ad mores, sic ferales ad ritus, sic ad fidem impios, ad leges barbaros, cervicofos ad disciplinam, spurcos ad vitam; Christiani nomine, re Pagani —

86. Non decimas, non primitias dare, non legitima inire conjugia, non facere confessiones; poenitentias nec qui peteret, nec qui daret penitus inveniri. *In vita Malachiae, cap. 6: quem locum superius etiam adduximus in Notis 51 & 60.*

narch

narch the Pope, and resign'd their understandings to his Janizaries the Priests. But in the discussion of these things, we shall not admit the chimerical and visionary testimonies of legendary authors; who wrote of the matters in question, long after the time wherein they happen'd: and who judg'd of them, or at least transmitted them to others, according to the ideas of their own times; which is a practice no less frequent, than very erroneous and dangerous. One critical rule I shall always observe, as being equally just and necessary, viz. 'neither to conclude from some things amiss in those elder times, that all were so; having the nature of things and undeniable facts to the contrary, not a few superstitions being crept in even from the beginning: nor to infer from some things right in later times, that all things continu'd as right as before, when the contrary is likewise from nature and facts most evident.' Yet so many things remain'd among the Irish, even to the English conquest, opposite to the Religion and Government of Rome (in spite of all the ignorance, bigotry, and barbarity, to which by that time this same Rome had reduc'd them) that Pope ADRIAN the fourth, in his *brief* to King HENRY the second in the year 1154, for encouraging him to undertake that conquest, alleges for his motives in so doing; *the*⁸⁷ *enlarging the bounds of the Church* (which is a very singular expression, if Ireland had been of his Church before) *the declaring the truth of the Christian faith to those un-*

87. Ad dilatandos Ecclesiae terminos, ad declarandum indoctis & rudibus populis Christianae fidei veritatem, & vitiorum plantaria de agro Domini extirpanda. *Apud Baron. ad annum 1159 & apud alios complures, praecipue verò apud Usserium nostrum in Epistolar. Hibernicar. sylloge; & ex autographo apud Rymerum, tom. 1. pag. 15.*

learned and rude people, and the encreasing of the Christian Religion, as well (continues he) as to extirpate the nurseries of vice out of the field of the Lord. Disobedience to the Roman see, especially in public Schools, is reckon'd the greatest of vices; and no virtue allow'd, where there is not absolute subjection profess'd to it. This charge of unfoundness in the faith, JOHN HARDING, an old English poet, thus expresses in the 132d chapter of his *Chronicle*.

*The King HENRY then conquered all Ireland
By Papal dome, there of his Royaltee
The profits and revenues of the land,
The domination, and the soveraigntee,
For error which against the spiritualtee
They held full long, and would not been correct
Of Heresies, with which they were infect.*

CUMMINN.

SEAGHAN.

But the Pope's real motive, was the tribute of Smoke-mony, or *Peterpence* (as commonly call'd) from every family ⁸⁸ annually; which those people refus'd, and King HENRY promis'd to pay. The Heresy, according to the Irish, was on the Pope's side, the partisans of whose predecessors were by them without ceremony call'd Heretics; as we are inform'd, among others, by ⁸⁹ CUMMIAN, whom we quoted in the first section, and who wrote to SEGIAN of I-columb-kill for the Roman See, in the year 650. Yet this very CUMMIAN, in not daring to condemn the practice of his ancestors, acknowledg'd the novelty

88. Et de singulis domibus annuam unius denarii beato Petro velle solvere pensionem — *Ibid.*

89. Nolite nos Haereticos vocare, &c. In *Epist. ad Segianum Huensem Abbatem*, supra citat. in *Nota 6.*

in Ireland of the doctrine he had lately espous'd. Our Elders (says ⁹⁰ he) whom you have as a pretence for your opposition, did simply and faithfully, without the blame of any contradiction or animosity, observe what they knew to be best in their days, and did so recommend it to their posterity. I leave it now, Sir, for your self to determin, which were the real Heretics (according to the bad sense of this word) the Romanists or the Irish? or whether any thing can be more preposterous in these last, than to be so mighty fond of the Pope, who together with their Clergy, betray'd the country to the English? Good terms he therefore made for the Clergy, but none at all for the Laity. Besides the privileges of Churches preserv'd inviolable, how unreasonable soever in themselves; all Ecclesiastical lands were ⁹¹ exempted from any manner of service or payment to the public, not contributing a penny towards the support of the Government: which immunity and independency was the bait that made them betray their country, as all Clergymen will do in the like case.

SECTION III.

HAVING had frequent occasion (MEGALETOR) to mention the Scots, a name originally belonging to the Inhabitants of Ireland, *Scuit.*

90. Seniores verò (quos in velamine repulsionis habetis) quod optimum in diebus suis esse noverunt, simpliciter & fideliter, sine culpa contradictionis ullius & animositatis, observaverunt, & suis posteris sic mandaverunt. *Ibid.*

91. Jure nimirum Ecclesiarum illibato & integro permanente, & salvâ beato Petro, & sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, de singulis Domibus annuâ unius denarii pensione. *Adriani Papae Breve, jam citat. in notis 87 & 88.* Ut terrae Ecclesiasticae ab omni secularium exactiōe sint immunes. *Concil. Cassil. can. 4.*

and afterwards communicated to their colonies in the north of Britain and the adjacent Ilands, but in time solely appropriated to these colonies; I shall observe here as a thing certain and incontestable among all writers, that, in ecclesiastical affairs, they were altogether upon the same foot with their Irish progenitors. There were Christians there in T E R T U L L I A N's time, who⁹² mentions them: and whether they were Scots or not, yet that the Scottish Christians had no Diocesan Bishops, till the coming of⁹³ P A L L A D I U S thither in the 5th century, Sir G E O R G E M A C K E N Z I E himself is forc'd to acknowledge, tho he was zealously devoted to Episcopacy. That there were any Diocesan Bishops there, even for 300 years after, I shall be farr from granting to Sir G E O R G E. But he thinks to salve the matter, by making the case extraordinary; and hopes those primitive Presbyters may have been ordain'd the Lord knows where or how (for he no where attempts to prove it) by Diocesan Bishops. Methinks, since one supposition costs no more than another, he needed not to have gone very farr for such ordainers: but lest any shou'd go to Britain first, or to Ireland afterwards; several men of great name, some to serve one purpose and some to serve another, took upon 'em to prove, that, before the beginning of the 5th century, there were no Scots in North-britain at

92. Et Britannorum Romanis, inaccessibleia loca, Christo verò subdita. *Adversus Judaeos, cap. 7.*

93. Palladius ad Scottos in Christum credentes, a Pontifice Romanae Ecclesiae, Coelestino, primus mittitur Episcopus. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 13.* Anno 429, Palladius Episcopus a Coelestino Papa ad Scottos mittebatur, ut eorum fidem confirmaret. *Chronic. Saxon. Missam nunc facio quaestionem, quinam per Scottos hic intelligendi, Scoto-Hiberni nempe vel Scoto-Britanni? anne potius utrique?*

all. Prejudice never display'd its standard more advantageously, than in the discussion of this very point: I mean of ⁹⁴ REUDA's leading a colony out of Ireland into Scotland, which concerns the succession of our Kings in the first place; and the time of planting Christianity there, which in the second place concerns the succession of our Bishops. These are the points which have driven men out of the high road of truth, to wander in the by-paths of party. I am well satisfy'd, and can satisfy others if it be thought worth while, that (notwithstanding I laugh at the Romance of GATHELUS, SCOTA, SIMON BREAC, and their fellows) the Scots came much earlier out of Ireland, than either STANIHURST, USHER, the two last Bishops of Worcester, or O FLAHERTY, will allow them. Nor am I less convinc'd, that BUCHANAN, Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE, Sir JAMES DALRYMPLE, and others, are mistaken in assigning this illustrious colony too ancient a date: as they are all defective in proving the Regal succession; a thing some of 'em pretend to have had much at heart. Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE is angry with Dr. STILLINGFLEET, Bishop of Worcester, for abridging it; and the Bishop as much displeas'd with the Advocate, for making it in some sort elective. It is most evident out of the ancientest Irish Historians, Bards, and Annalists, that there were colonies very early, and at different times sent, reviv'd, or recruited, out of Ireland into the western Isles,

94. Procedente autem tempore, Britannia, praeter Britones & Pictos, tertiam Scotorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit; qui, duce Reuda, de Hibernia progressi, vel amicitia vel ferro subimet inter eos sedes, quas haecenus habent, vindicarunt. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 1.*

and the north-west parts of Britain: those books containing particular accounts of the many expeditions made to this purpose, of the battles fought by the Irish to preserve or to regain the dependency of such colonies, and the assistance they often lent them (after they became independent) against the Picts and Britons, or that one Irish King us'd to receive from thence against some other. They were at first govern'd by the leaders of the several colonies, and by their Phylarchs; that is to say, the heads of Clans or Tribes: and afterwards, for their greater union and preserving the common peace, they elected Kings to rule over them; Kings under more limitations than in our days, and not always succeeding in the direct line, tho in the same family. Till the last century, or a very few years before it, these were facts that no approv'd Irish historian ever call'd in question, their records preserving even the originals of the most noted Phylarchs in Scotland: as that the MAC CALLINS (for example) now Dukes of Argyle, are descended from FIACHA CEANANN, son to MAC CON King of Ireland. There are as distinct accounts of the other principal families in the highlands, whether extant or extinct. But tho I cou'd easily evince, that the Scots were settl'd in North-britain long before the year 503; yet I can by means accord to NENNIUS, that they arriv'd there when ⁹⁵ JUNIUS BRUTUS was Consul at Rome. CARBRE RIADH-FADA, or LONGICARPUS (the REUDA of BEDE) was the son of CONAR, who reign'd

MAC-
CATHLIN.

LUGHADH
MAC CON,
crown'd an-
no 250.

95. Venerunt ad regiones Dalrieta, in tempore quo regnabat Brutus apud Romanos, a quo Consules esse coeperunt. *Hist. Brit.* c. 9.

chief monarch of Ireland in the beginning of the 3d century: and yet the Argathelian colonies were in a flourishing condition before his arrival, or that of the six sons of MUIREDHACH after him, in Latin call'd MUREDUS. As in this article of migration, so also in other matters of no greater importance, the emulous writers of the last age are widely divided; as both sides are often out by turns in their claims to the famous men and remarkable actions of the Scots and Irish (ambiguous words) each unreasonably, and sometimes childishly, engrossing all to themselves: which occasion'd some of the modern Scottish writers to be stil'd *Hagiokleptæ*, Saint-stealers; among whom DEMPSTER (not a Monk, as the last Bishop of Worcester makes him, but a Lawyer) was the most notorious flecher, yet the readiest of all men to cry *stop thief*. Neither are the Welsh, English, or Irish, freer from this national weakness than their neighbors: and indeed by reason that the inhabitants of Ireland and North-britain were each call'd *Scots*, and that both likewise had the appellation of *Irish*, no less because of their common language than of their origine; it is very difficult, nay sometimes impossible, for a man wholly disengag'd, and onely pursuing historical evidence, precisely to determine, except where circumstances are very plain: for some *criteria* there are, notwithstanding the mists of fable and obscurity. But as to my particular view, it signifies nothing to which country those persons did belong; since the religion of both countries, as likewise of the ancient Britons, is acknowledg'd to have been the very same. In a word, every one of those learned gentlemen I have nam'd a little higher, seem to act, as farr as I can perceive, upon some certain byass or prejudice, not always becoming hi-

Ard nan
Gaoidheal,
contractè
Arghael.

Ἀγιοκλεπταί.

rians. Yet cou'd I overlook passion in any of them, I wou'd except ⁹⁶ BUCHANAN, who was sway'd by no other partiality but a little too much affection to his countrey; which I grant to be laudable, in the defence of its liberty, but not in the writing of its history. In other things he shows wonderful penetration and judgment; besides that he had the advantage of understanding the ancient Irish (absolutely necessary in these disquisitions) which the greater part of the rest had not. STANIHURST, ⁹⁷ a person of no small abilities, hated the Scots for being Protestants: and so wou'd neither allow them an early beginning nor an early Christianity. The great ⁹⁸ USHER took up the cudgels for his uncle STANIHURST: not on the score of religion, for none was ever a better Protestant, but of family; and from that same overweening prepossession in favor of his country, which we have not approv'd in BUCHANAN. So Doctor LOYD, the late Bishop of ⁹⁹ Worcester, justly fam'd for his skill in Chronology, espous'd the quarrel of ¹ his name-fake, if not kinsman, HUMPHRY LOYD, the first mover of this controversy: who doubtless was not in the right, but not so much in the wrong in everything as BUCHANAN wou'd have him. Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE, tho he was an ornament to the Scottish barr, yet ² wrote with all the unfairness possible against the Bishop (then of Saint ASAPH) to whom that living library Doctor STILLINGFLEET (afterwards Bishop of Wor-

96. *Rerum Scoticarum &c; or, the History of Scotland.*

97. *De Rebus in Hibernia gestis.*

98. *De Britannicarum Ecclesiarum primordiis.*

99. *Historical account of the British Churches.*

¹ *Britannicae Descriptionis fragmentum.*

². *Antiquity of the Royal line of Scotland, first and second parts.*

cester) became a strenuous ³ second: lest, if the Scots of Northbritain were allow'd a Christianity at first without Diocesan Bishops, and that next the Bishops themselves were elected by the *Kel-dees*, vulgarly call'd *Culdees* (a sort of Lay religious wherof by and by) for fear in such a case, I say, that the present Scots might thus have reason to expel their Bishops, which they since have done; as being no less an usurpation upon their old Christianity, than upon their late Reformation. So that rather than Bishops shou'd lose any ground, a great number of Kings, and a considerable body of preceding adventurers, must be struck at one blow out of history. Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE is not more reserv'd to let us into the secret of his writing, which was to complement the late King JAMES, whose line (he says) he thought it his duty, as his Majesty's Advocate-general, to defend; and he truly does it like an Advocate in all respects, making it even Lese-Majesty in others to oppose it by the least abridgment. It wou'd not be making his court, he thought, any way to curtail the long catalogue of the King's Ancestors, how much soever he admir'd Bishops: but he also thought it wou'd be as little ingratiating himself by deriving those Princes from any subject of Ireland, tho not able to deny that they had originally issu'd from thence; but however (according to him) a long time before those of that country allow it, as if sooner or later signify'd any thing in this argument, with regard to true honor. He's nevertheless as much in the right, in respect of the main fact, the antiquity of the Scots in Britain; as the industrious ⁴ Mr. OFLAHERTY, out of complaisance per-

3. Origines Britannicae, &c.

4. Ogygia, or the History of Ireland.

haps to some of his Patrons, is unquestionably in the wrong. But Sir GEORGE was not master of history enough (whatever his admirers may fancy) to prove his point, where it was capable of the highest evidence; nor, without the help of the Irish Bards, can the Scottish antiquities be ever clear'd. He did not go by the rule of *it was so*, but *it shou'd be so*; because, as he declares his opinion, it was more honorable for the King to be descended from those he assigns for his progenitors, than from such as others had nam'd; and therefore desires the reader to judge, who does the King greater honor, Dr. STILLINGFLEET in making him descend from a petty subject; or the Scottish historians, who derive him from an uninterrupted series of absolute Monarchs. But is this to write history? are we to sacrifice truth to imaginary honor? or was each of King JAMES's ancestors an actual Monarch, be his genealogy what you please? CARBRE RIADHA was of the Royal family, and not a mere Dynast of Ulster, as he erroneously calls him: but supposing him not of the regal stock, yet he was farr superior in rank and fame, even in his own account of him, to FLEANCE the son of BANCHO, who is made the first of the STUART's race. But to show an example in the Advocate-general, how farr the humor of flattering the great, or over-rating their country, will carry men; I shall lay before you, Sir, an expedient no less admirable than diverting, on which he has sagaciously hit for supporting his pretences. He says he *cannot but regret, that the Irish shou'd mistake so farr their own interest; as to suffer, or furnish their histories, to overturn the credibility of the Scottish histories.* What! not furnish 'em, if they have such? or not suffer 'em, if they are true? Since (continues he) *because we acknowledge our*
selves

P H L E A -
D H A N.

Part 2, pag.
169.

selves to have come last from Ireland, it were our common interest to unite together, and sustain one another's antiquities. Tis well he's no Irishman that speaks at this rate, or we shou'd quickly hear of his understanding. But takeing my leave of this otherwise very ingenious man, the honorable Sir JAMES DALRYMPLE has visibly back'd him; not so much on behalf of the Royal line, as for the antiquity of the nation, and on behalf of the Culdees. This last point he has made so evident from incontestable authorities of Historians, Registers, and Charters, mentioning many of their lands and their Churches; that Bishop LOYD will be justly condemn'd for haveing asserted the Culdees to be *a monkish dream*, as he pag. 121.
 will be further so, for making the word *Keldee* to signify *a house of Cells*: and Bishop STIL- pag. 138.
 LINGFLEET must be content to bear him company, who fancies that from *Kilrule* or *Kilrimont* (now saint Andrews) the Clergy were call'd *Kile-* Pref. p. 56.
dei; from which title, says he, *the fiction of the ancient Culdees came.* This conceit does, in spite of the analogy of the language and abundance of facts, suppose there were no Culdees elsewhere in Scotland, the contrary wherof is demonstrable: nor, unhappily for his Criticism, were they ever call'd *Kiledei* (which is a fiction of his own) but constantly *Keledei*, from the original Irish or ancient Scottish word *Ceile-de*, signifying *separated or espous'd to God*; these having been likewise very numerous in Ireland, and in all the Irish writings invariably known by this name. From *Ceile-de* many of the Latin writers made *Colidei* in the plural number; and others, who did not understand this word, did from the mere sound (like

C in Irish is
ever pro-
nounc'd like
K or Q.

our two great Bishop's derivations) interpret it *Cultores Dei*, whence the modern word *Culdees*, tho it be *Keldees* and *Kelledei* in all the ancient Scottish writings. *Ceile-de*, both name and thing, cannot be deny'd by any man, who's tolerably vers'd in the language of the Irish or in their books; one of which, a *Chronicle* mostly in verse entitul'd *Psalter Na'rran*, was written by a Keldee, AONGHUS *Ceile-de*, Latiniz'd ÆNEAS COLIDEUS, about the year 800. I can produce, if there be occasion, several evidences about these Keldees, anterior to those helps with which Sir JAMES DALRYMPLE has plentifully furnish'd me: tho many more might be offer'd by others (as I doubt not some will in time appear) had not such numbers of Irish books and records been carry'd beyond the seas at the Reformation, and even before; where they ly perishing in Libraries, being useless as well as unintelligible in those countries. We need not a better example of this, than the very book of the *four Gospels* which has occasion'd you to be trobl'd with this *Dissertation*. The Keldees were commonly Laymen, and marry'd as I noted ⁶ before; but, like *Bishop* and *Monk*, the word remain'd the same, after the Ideas were chang'd with the condition of the men. But, it seems, no change cou'd prevent the extinction of the Keldees. They had the right of chusing their Prior or President out of their own body, as the Church in those parts was long govern'd by Presbyters, after the example of the ancient ⁷ Alexandrian Church; where

6. In Nota 66.

7. Alexandræ a Marco Evangelista, usque ad Heraclam & Dionysium Episcopos, Presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant. *Hieronym. Epist. ad Evagrium, ut nihil de Eutychio aliisque dicam.*

the Presbyters chose one from among themselves, to be their Bishop or Superintendent: a form of Government not scrupl'd by the Scots at the Reformation, and which, if that were all, they wou'd make no difficulty of admitting now. J O H N F O R D U N therefore had reason to affirm so many centuries since, that ⁸ *the Scots had, before the coming of PALLADIUS, onely Presbyters or Monks for teachers of the faith, and Ministers of the Sacraments, following herein the usage of the Primitive Church.* Thus did the famous C O L U M B A, who, coming out of Ireland to convert the Northern Picts in the year 565, and founding a Monastery in the Iland from him call'd ⁹ *I-colum-cille*, establish the self-same kind of order in the Church there. *That Iland*, says ¹⁰ B E D E in the 7th century, *is wont to have a Presbyter Abbat, to whose government both the whole Province, and even the Bishops themselves are to be subject in an unusual manner* (with regard, he means, to the practice of his time in England) *after the example of their first teacher; who was not a Bishop, but a Presbyter and a Monk.* To the same purpose, and for the same reason the

8. Ante cujus [Palladii] adventum, habebant Scoti fidei doctores, ac Sacramentorum ministratores, Presbyteros solummodò vel Monachos, ritum sequentes Ecclesiae Primitivae. *Scotichronic. l. 3. c. 8.*

9. *That is, COLUMKILL's Iland; for I, pronounc'd as the French and other Foreners do this Letter, signifies in Irish an Iland, as Inis likewise does. The name of this Iland is often written HII, II, HU, to avoid making a word of one Letter: and COLUMBA is call'd by BEDE, NENNIUS, and others, COLUMBA-CELLI, COLUMKILLUS, or COLUMBACELLAE; as by the Irish, and Scots Highlanders, be's to this day call'd COLUIM-CILLE. This Iland goes likewise under the name of JONA, and lies near the greater Iland of MULL.*

10. Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper Abbatem Presbyterum, cujus juri & omnis provincia, & ipsi etiam Episcopi, ordine inusitato, debeant esse subjecti; juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non Episcopus, sed Presbyter extitit & Monachus. *Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 5.*

*Saxon Chronicle*¹¹ says, that *all the Scottish Bishops are to be subject to the Abbat of Hy.* Then, to be sure, they were no Diocesans. But after the Pope had got firm footing in Scotland, and that the country was parcell'd out by his order into Dioceses (most of which are of very late erection) the Keldees were discountenanc'd and suppress'd by degrees, and Canons regular plac'd in their room. I confine my discourse to the Scots Keldees onely: for as to the Keldees of Armagh, Tipperary, or Cluanish in Ireland, or as to those of Bardsey in Wales, or any where else, mention'd by others or not; I have nothing at this time to say, whatever I may do hereafter. The right of electing Bishops, so long enjoy'd, was forcibly taken at last from the Scots Keldees: and, the sooner to effect the change that ensu'd, their Priors were commonly gain'd by making them Bishops, as the chief among the rest were preferr'd to regular Abbacies. Thus ALEXANDER MYLN, Prebendary and Official of Dunkel, in his account of the Bishops of that See, tells us,¹² that CONSTANTINE the third, King of the Picts, did, in the year 729, erect the Monastery of Dunkel, in which he plac'd religious men by the vulgar call'd Keldees; who nevertheless, after the usage of the eastern

11. Deinceps perpetuus in li Abbas erit, non autem Episcopus; atque ei debent esse subditi omnes Scotorum Episcopi, propterea quod Columbanus [*rectius* Columba] fuerit Abbas, non Episcopus.

12. In quo quidem Monasterio imposuit viros religiosos, quos nominat vulgus Kelledeos, aliter Colideos (hoc est, colentes Deum) habentes tamen, secundum Orientalis Ecclesiae ritum, conjuges; a quibus, dum vicissim ministrarunt, abstinebant—David, mutato Monasterio, in Ecclesiam Cathedralem erexit; & repudiatis Kelledeis, Episcopum & Canonicos instituit, Seculareque Collegium in futurum esse ordinavit, circa annos Domini 1127. MS. in Biblioth. Icc. Edinburg. & a Jacobo Dalrymple Baronetto citat.

Church, had wives, from whom they abstain'd, when it came to their turn to minister. But King DAVID, says he, did, about the year of the Lord 1127, change this Monastery into a Cathedral church; and having cast out the Keldees, appointed a Bishop and Canons, ordering it to be a secular Colledge for the future. Accordingly the Keldean Abbat was made the first Bishop of that see: and from hence it appears, that the Culdees were not Canons; which is another subterfuge, to which some have had recourse. Nor was it an easy matter, to extirpate the Keldees out of Saint ANDREWS; who at last were reduc'd to ¹³ perform their worship in their own way, in a corner of the Church once theirs. The Keldees of Loch-levin (not to mention those of Brechen, Dumblane, Monymusk, or others) were some of the last left in Scotland. And I cannot help saying on this occasion, that some other method of defending Diocesan Episcopacy (if it can at all be defended) had much better become the two late learned Bishops of Worcester, than to draw their pens against clear matters of fact; the Keldees being already sufficiently prov'd, neither to have been a dream nor a fiction. Yet the present Bishop of Carlisle calls Dr. LOYD's ¹⁴ book, *an undertaking becoming a Bishop of our English Church*; and says his aim in it was, *the encountring an objection against the order of Episcopacy, from the story of the Culdees: an argument put into the mouths of our Schismatics by BLONDEL and SELDEN, out of the abundant kindness they had for our establishment.* I must take the liberty with his Lordship to affirm, that

13. Nec ibi Missa celebratur, nisi cum rex vel Episcopus illò advenerat: Keldei namque in angulo quodam Ecclesiae, quae modica nimis erat, suum Officium suo more celebrabant. *Excerpt. ex Registro Priorat. S. Andr. antea citat. in Nota 66.*

14. *English Historical Library, part 2. page 93.*

food, while they gormandiz'd and surfeited on others, more dainty, nourishing, and luscious. *The children of wisdom*, says ⁷⁰ CLAUDIUS, *do plainly understand; that righteousness consists not either in abstinence or eating: but in patiently bearing hunger when they want, and in temperately feeding when they abound; as well as in seasonably takeing or not takeing those things, wherof not the use but the abuse is blameworthy.* Such accurate language as this they commonly us'd, and not the recommendation of Vigils, or the injunction of Lent, or any other superstitious macerations of this nature: tending to the impairing of health, and, together with frequent holydays, to the manifest obstruction of ⁷¹ industry; but not conducing either to piety or probity, not procureing amendment of life or improvement of understanding.

XV. THE Church was esteem'd to be, not a political empire, or an organiz'd society with a proper subordination of officers and subjects; but the congregation of the faithful thro-out the world, whether visible or invisible, and however differing any where in their discipline or modes of worship; as the Irish differ'd among themselves, using their Christian liberty: and *the Sons of the Church* (that I may speak in the words of

⁷⁰ Ostendens evidenter [*Augustinus citatus a Claudio*] filios sapientiae intelligere, nec in abstinendo, nec in manducando esse justitiam: sed in aequanimitate tolerandi inopiam, & temperantiâ per abundantiam non se corrumpendi; atque opportunè sumendi vel non sumendi ea, quorum non usus, sed concupiscentia, reprehendenda est. *Lib. 2. in Mat.*

⁷¹ The political Lent injoin'd in England for preserving the breed of cattle, appears to have been impolitically enough devis'd by daily experience; there having never been such abundance of cattle bred, as since the non observance of the Acts to this purpose.

⁷² CLAUDIUS) they held to be all those, who, from the beginning of the world till this time, have attain'd to be just and holy. This is a true and generous account: for the *Communion of Saints* consists in faith and holiness, but not in modes and forms. But so little did these western Latitudinarians imagin the universal Church was infallible, or that any particular Church was indefectible or indefeasible, that they frequently bemoan'd their exorbitant corruptions; complaining that the number of the faithful was sometimes so ⁷³ small, as to be hardly, if at all, discernable.

THEY did not in the least acknowledge the headship of the Roman Church, as may be observ'd beyond all controversy in our first *Section*; and likewise from the *Epistle of Pope GREGORY* the first, in the Year 592, inviting them to ⁷⁴ Catholic unity: as also from the *Epistle of* ⁷⁵ LAURENCE Archbishop of Canterbury and his associates, exhorting, beseeching, and conjuring them, to unite with the Roman, which he

XVI.

72. Ecclesiae filii sunt omnes, ab institutione generis humani usque nunc, quotquot justī & sancti esse potuerunt. *lib. 2. in Mat.*

73. Nonnunquam Ecclesia tantis Gentilium pressuris, non solum afflicta, sed & foedata est; ut, si fieri possit, redemptor ipsius eam prorsus deseruisse ad tempus videretur. *Id. Ibid.* Ecclesia non apparebit, impiis tunc Persecutoribus ultra modum saevientibus, &c. *Id. lib. 3. in Mat.*

74. Unde iterum habitâ locutione, charitatem vestram admo-neo, ut (quoniam, deo suffragante, fidei nostrae integritas in causa trium capitulorum inviolata permansit) mentis tumore deposito, tantò citiùs ad matrem vestram, quae filios suos expectat & invitat, Ecclesiam redeatis; quantò vos ab ea quotidie expectari cognoscitis. *Gregor. Regest. l. 2. Epist. 36.*

75. Scripsit cum Episcopis suis adhortatoriam ad eos Epistolam; obsecrans eos & contestans, unitatem pacis, & Catholicae observationis cum ea, quae toto orbe diffusa est, Christi Ecclesia tenere. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 5.*

means by the Catholic Church. Neither did they own the supremacy of any other Church on earth, managing all their affairs, both civil and religious, within themselves: but receiving no visitations, palls, indulgences, or any other the like marks of subjection, from the Roman Pontiff, till ⁷⁶ after the tenth and eleventh centuries; yet not refusing to send or receive messages, in case of any transaction with foren Churches. Nor had they any Archbishops (properly so call'd in the Roman sense) till P A P A R O, the Pope's Legat, brought ⁷⁷ four palls to Ireland in the year 1151: the Bishop of Armagh being stil'd by foren or late writers Archbishop, onely out of reverence to the ⁷⁸ seat of P A T R I C, the Apostle of the nation; as others were unwarrantably so stil'd by the same men, tho without any palls or provisions from Rome.

XVII. LASTLY, the so often mention'd ⁷⁹ BERNARD taxes the Irish, with having as many Bishops almost as Churches; and sometimes they had

76. Aegrè satis ferebat [*Malachias*] Hiberniam usque adhuc Pallio caruisse; utpote aemulator sacramentorum, quorum ne uno quolibet gentem suam vellet omnino fraudari. *Bernard. in vita Malach.* Metropoliticae sedi [*Ardmachanae scilicet*] deerat adhuc, & defuerat ab initio, pallii usus. *Id. ibid.*

77. Anno 1151, Papa Eugenius quatuor pallia, per Legatum suum Johannem Papirum, transmisit in Hiberniam, quò nunquam antea Pallium delatum fuerat. *Annal. Melross. pag. 167.* Archiepiscopi vero in Hibernia nulli fuerant, sed tantum se Episcopi invicem consecrabant; donec Johannes Papyrio, Romanae sedis Legatus, non multis retrò annis advenit, &c. *Girald. Cambrenf. Topograph. Hibern. distinct. 3. cap. 17.*

78. Hic [*Gelasius*] primus Archiepiscopus dicitur, quia primo Pallio usus est. Alii verò ante ipsum solo nomine Archiepiscopi & Primates vocabantur, ob reverentiam & honorem Sancti Patricii, tanquam Apostoli illius gentis. *Annal. Hibern. a Camdeno editi: item Casaeus in Chronic. Hibern. ad annum 1174.*

79. Unus Episcopatu uno non esset contentus, sed singulae penè Ecclesiae singulos haberent Episcopos. *In vita Malachiae, c. 7.*

more than one Bishop in one city, nay they had them in villages, as LANFRANC of Canterbury and many others ⁸⁰ assure us. This was but treading in their admir'd PATRIC's steps: who, as ⁸¹ NENNIUS, the most ancient British historian after GILDAS, relates, *founded 365 Churches, and ordain'd 365 Bishops and more (with 3000 Presbyters) in whom was the Spirit of God.* I shall not dispute with any here about the word *Bishop*, which, besides its being an apostolical word, is very significantly us'd by other writers to as many purposes, as *Overseer*, the English of it, can be apply'd: nor shall I deny the convenience, or even the divine right, of many Presbyters having one of their body to preside over them for a time or for life; as there is a chairman among the Justices of a certain district, or as any other assemblies have their president. It matters not, whether such a one (for just causes deposeable) be call'd *Bishop* or *Superintendent*; the first being Greec, and the second Latin for *Overseer*. Whether he be call'd a *Moderator*, I say, or be design'd by any other name of like import, signifies nothing; which ought to take away all scruple against using the word *Bishop*, if it be not preferable to others for being the *Scripture* term. Against such Bishops therefore I have no exception: and such were the Bishops in England at the beginning of the Reformation. But that *Bishop* in Ireland did, in the fifth or sixth centuries (for example) signify a distinct or-

80. Quòd in villis vel civitatibus plures ordinantur. In Epist. ad Terdelvachum regem Hiberniae, apud Baron. ad annum 1089: apud Usser. in Sylloge: & inter opera Lanfranc.

81. Ecclesias fundavit CCCLXV; ordinavit Episcopos eodem numero, & eo amplius, in quibus spiritus Dei erat, CCCLXV: Presbyteros autem usque ad tres mille ordinavit. Hist. Brit. cap. 59: quod & ab aliis quàmplurimis confirmatur; a nobis, cum opus fuerit, adducendis.

CEAL-
LACH.
MAOLIOSA.

der of men, by whom alone Presbyters cou'd be ordain'd, and without which kind of Ordination their ministry were invalid, this I absolutely deny: as I do that those Bishops were Diocesan *Bishops*, when nothing is plainer than that most of 'em had no Bishopricks at all in our modern sense; not to speak of those numerous Bishops frequently going out of Ireland, not call'd to Bishopricks abroad, and many of 'em never prefer'd there. This is a fact none can deny. It was but in the 11th century that the Irish Bishops were reduc'd, by the first Legate they receiv'd from the Pope, to the number of twenty six; and that the Kingdom was parcell'd out into Dioceses, to which those Bishops were severally assign'd and limited. The bringing of this to pass, both for the better preventing of disputes about Jurisdiction, which by that time had been introduc'd, and for the more effectual securing of the Pope's dominion by these his Intendants, was the chief reason of convoking the Synod of Rathbressail, where the Legate above-mention'd, GILBERT Bishop of Limerick, presided; and under him sat CELSUS of Armach, and MALISIUS of Cashel, attended by no fewer than fifty Bishops; which shows to what a different state Episcopacy was then grown from what it was formerly in Ireland, especially in the two first centuries of their Christianity. The right reverend the Bishop of ⁸² Carlile, to whom all men of Letters are so much indebted, owns, that ⁸³ *the Bishops in Scotland* (which were upon the same foot with those of Ireland) *had anciently no certain and fixt sees; but that every Prelate exer-*

⁸². Now of London-Derry.

⁸³. *Scottish historical Library*, chap. 5. pag. 210.

cis'd his Episcopal office and jurisdiction indiscriminately, in whatever part of the kingdom he chanc'd to be. His Lordship is not pleas'd to tell us, what this jurisdiction cou'd be, of Bishops that had no Dioceses; nor how they cou'd agree, when they met together in one place, where each had equal power. I am certain however there was nothing temporal in this jurisdiction. But tho this be not the place I have design'd for such matters, yet I cannot but wonder, if the power and jurisdiction of the Irish and Albanian Bishops were such as some pretend, that O S W A L D, the Saxon King of Northumberland, shou'd not send to those Bishops for persons to instruct his subjects in the Christian Religion; but that he dispatcht his request for such *to their Elders* (as B E D E ⁸⁴ informs us) whether by these be meant the Elders of their Churches, or the Elders of their People: for King O S W A L D, who liv'd so many years in exile among them, and who there became a Christian, must have been well acquainted with their Diocesan Episcopacy, if any such institution had then existed.

SUCH (MEGALETOR) was the Christianity of the antient Irish; for I look upon the contents of the seventeen paragraphs before-going, to be points, that, without manifest prevarication, will not admit of any valid exception, of any ambiguous construction, or other sophistical evasion. Most of 'em are positive facts, deliver'd by authentic writers: and the rest confirm'd by the irrecusable witness of the Pope's most

84. Misit ad *maiores natu Scottorum*, inter quos exulans ipse Baptismatis sacramenta, cum his qui secum erant militibus, consecutus erat; petens ut sibi mitteretur Antistes, cujus doctrinâ ac ministerio gens, quam regebat, Anglorum, Dominicae fidei & dona disceret, & susciperet sacramenta. *Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3.*

zealous votaries, who frequently declaim'd against them, as so many intolerable abuses. When BERNARD (for example) in the *life of MALACHIAS*, relates his being made Bishop of Connor, he says that ⁸⁵ *he came not to men but to beasts, absolute barbarians, a stubborn, stiffnecked, and ungovernable generation* (you wou'd think it was some Highchurchman railing against Dissenters) *impious, continues he, and abominable, Christians in name, but in reality pagans.* Now, what think you are the grounds of this heavy charge? or what the provocations that put this good Father into such a rage? He immediately subjoins them, and they ⁸⁶ are, *that they neither pay'd Tythes nor first-fruit offerings, that they wou'd not be lawfully marry'd* (that is, by the Clergy) *that they refus'd going to Confession; and that neither the Laity wou'd undergo any pennance, nor their Priests impose it, before the blessed alteration* (forsooth) made by MALACHIAS. Such complaints are as valid proofs in their due place, as positive testimonies can possibly be. Besides that it was the common artifice of the Monks, to declaim in the bitterest terms against all men in all countries, who did not blindly receive their doctrines, as wholly dissolute and licentious: till they were reclaim'd, if you believe them, by their powerful preaching; that is, till they became vassals to their Mo-

85. Cùm autem coepisset pro officio suo agere, tunc intellexit homo Dei non ad homines se, sed ad bestias destinatum. Nusquam adhuc tales expertus fuerat, in quantacunque barbarie: nusquam repererat sic protervos ad mores, sic ferales ad ritus, sic ad fidem impios, ad leges barbaros, cervicosos ad disciplinam, spurcos ad vitam; Christiani nomine, re Pagani —

86. Non decimas, non primitias dare, non legitima inire conjugia, non facere confessiones; poenitentias nec qui peteret, nec qui daret penitus inveniri. *In vita Malachiae, cap. 6: quem locum superius etiam adduximus in Notis 51 & 60.*

narch

narch the Pope, and resign'd their understandings to his Janizaries the Priests. But in the discussion of these things, we shall not admit the chimerical and visionary testimonies of legendary authors; who wrote of the matters in question, long after the time wherein they happen'd: and who judg'd of them, or at least transmitted them to others, according to the ideas of their own times; which is a practice no less frequent, than very erroneous and dangerous. One critical rule I shall always observe, as being equally just and necessary, viz. 'neither to conclude from some things amiss in those elder times, that all were so; having the nature of things and undeniable facts to the contrary, not a few superstitions being crept in even from the beginning: nor to infer from some things right in later times, that all things continu'd as right as before, when the contrary is likewise from nature and facts most evident.' Yet so many things remain'd among the Irish, even to the English conquest, opposite to the Religion and Government of Rome (in spite of all the ignorance, bigotry, and barbarity, to which by that time this same Rome had reduc'd them) that Pope ADRIAN the fourth, in his *brief* to King HENRY the second in the year 1154, for encouraging him to undertake that conquest, alleges for his motives in so doing; *the*⁸⁷ *enlarging the bounds of the Church* (which is a very singular expression, if Ireland had been of his Church before) *the declaring the truth of the Christian faith to those un-*

87. Ad dilatandos Ecclesiae terminos, ad declarandum indoctis & rudibus populis Christianae fidei veritatem, & vitiorum plantaria de agro Domini extirpanda. *Apud Baron. ad annum 1159 & apud alios complures, praecipue verò apud Usserium nostrum in Epistolar. Hibernicar. sylloge; & ex autographo apud Rymerum, tom. 1. pag. 15.*

learned and rude people, and the encreasing of the Christian Religion, as well (continues he) as to extirpate the nurseries of vice out of the field of the Lord. Disobedience to the Roman see, especially in public Schools, is reckon'd the greatest of vices; and no virtue allow'd, where there is not absolute subjection profess'd to it. This charge of unfoundness in the faith, JOHN HARDING, an old English poet, thus expresses in the 132d chapter of his *Chronicle*.

*The King HENRY then conquered all Ireland
By Papal dome, there of his Royaltee
The profits and revenues of the land,
The domination, and the soveraigntee,
For error which against the spiritualtee
They held full long, and would not been correct
Of Heresies, with which they were infect.*

But the Pope's real motive, was the tribute of Smoke-mony, or *Peterpence* (as commonly call'd) from every family ⁸⁸ annually; which those people refus'd, and King HENRY promis'd to pay. The Heresy, according to the Irish, was on the Pope's side, the partisans of whose predecessors were by them without ceremony call'd Heretics; as we are inform'd, among others, by ⁸⁹ CUMMIAN, whom we quoted in the first section, and SEAGHAN, who wrote to SEGIAN of I-columb-kill for the Roman See, in the year 650. Yet this very CUMMIAN, in not daring to condemn the practice of his ancestors, acknowledg'd the novelty

88. Et de singulis domibus annuam unius denarii beato Petro velle solvere pensionem — *Ibid.*

89. Nolite nos Haereticos vocare, &c. In *Epist. ad Segianum Hunssem Abbatem*, supra citat. in *Nota 6.*

in Ireland of the doctrine he had lately espous'd. Our Elders (says ⁹⁰ he) whom you have as a pretence for your opposition, did simply and faithfully, without the blame of any contradiction or animosity, observe what they knew to be best in their days, and did so recommend it to their posterity. I leave it now, Sir, for your self to determin, which were the real Heretics (according to the bad sense of this word) the Romanists or the Irish? or whether any thing can be more preposterous in these last, than to be so mighty fond of the Pope, who together with their Clergy, betray'd the country to the English? Good terms he therefore made for the Clergy, but none at all for the Laity. Besides the privileges of Churches preserv'd inviolable, how unreasonable soever in themselves; all Ecclesiastical lands were ⁹¹ exempted from any manner of service or payment to the public, not contributing a penny towards the support of the Government: which immunity and independency was the bait that made them betray their country, as all Clergymen will do in the like case.

SECTION III.

HAVING had frequent occasion (MEGAL-
LETOR) to mention the Scots, a name o- *Scuit.*
riginally belonging to the Inhabitants of Ireland,

90. Seniores verò (quos in velamine repulsionis habetis) quod optimum in diebus suis esse noverunt, simpliciter & fideliter, sine culpa contradictionis ullius & animositatis, observaverunt, & suis posteris sic mandaverunt. *Ibid.*

91. Jure nimirum Ecclesiarum illibato & integro permanente, & salvâ beato Petro, & sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, de singulis Domibus annuâ unius denarii pensione. *Adriani Papae Breve, jam citat. in notis 87 & 88.* Ut terrae Ecclesiasticae ab omni secularium exactiōe sint immunes. *Concil. Cassil. can. 4.*

and afterwards communicated to their colonies in the north of Britain and the adjacent Ilands, but in time solely appropriated to these colonies; I shall observe here as a thing certain and incontestable among all writers, that, in ecclesiastical affairs, they were altogether upon the same foot with their Irish progenitors. There were Christians there in T E R T U L L I A N's time, who⁹² mentions them: and whether they were Scots or not, yet that the Scottish Christians had no Diocesan Bishops, till the coming of⁹³ P A L L A D I U S thither in the 5th century, Sir G E O R G E M A C K E N Z I E himself is forc'd to acknowledge, tho he was zealously devoted to Episcopacy. That there were any Diocesan Bishops there, even for 300 years after, I shall be farr from granting to Sir G E O R G E. But he thinks to salve the matter, by making the case extraordinary; and hopes those primitive Presbyters may have been ordain'd the Lord knows where or how (for he no where attempts to prove it) by Diocesan Bishops. Methinks, since one supposition costs no more than another, he needed not to have gone very farr for such ordainers: but lest any shou'd go to Britain first, or to Ireland afterwards; several men of great name, some to serve one purpose and some to serve another, took upon 'em to prove, that, before the beginning of the 5th century, there were no Scots in North-britain at

92. Et Britannorum Romanis, inaccessa loca, Christo verò subdita. *Adversus Judaeos, cap. 7.*

93. Palladius ad Scottos in Christum credentes, a Pontifice Romanae Ecclesiae, Coelestino, primus mittitur Episcopus. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 13.* Anno 429, Palladius Episcopus a Coelestino Papa ad Scottos mittebatur, ut eorum fidem confirmaret. *Chronic. Saxon. Missam nunc facio quaestionem, quinam per Scottos hic intelligendi, Scoto-Hiberni nempe vel Scoto-Britanni? anne potius utrique?*

all. Prejudice never display'd its standard more advantageously, than in the discussion of this very point: I mean of ⁹⁴ R E U D A's leading a colony out of Ireland into Scotland, which concerns the succession of our Kings in the first place; and the time of planting Christianity there, which in the second place concerns the succession of our Bishops. These are the points which have driven men out of the high road of truth, to wander in the by-paths of party. I am well satisfy'd, and can satisfy others if it be thought worth while, that (notwithstanding I laugh at the Romance of G A T H E L U S, S C O T A, S I M O N B R E A C, and their fellows) the Scots came much earlier out of Ireland, than either S T A N I H U R S T, U S H E R, the two last Bishops of Worcester, or O F L A H E R T Y, will allow them. Nor am I less convinc'd, that B U C H A N A N, Sir G E O R G E M A C K E N Z I E, Sir J A M E S D A L R Y M P L E, and others, are mistaken in assigning this illustrious colony too ancient a date: as they are all defective in proving the Regal succession; a thing some of 'em pretend to have had much at heart. Sir G E O R G E M A C K E N Z I E is angry with Dr. S T I L L I N G F L E E T, Bishop of Worcester, for abridging it; and the Bishop as much displeas'd with the Advocate, for making it in some sort elective. It is most evident out of the ancientest Irish Historians, Bards, and Annalists, that there were colonies very early, and at different times sent, reviv'd, or recruited, out of Ireland into the western Isles,

94. Procedente autem tempore, Britannia, praeter Britones & Pictos, tertiam Scotorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit; qui, duce Reuda, de Hibernia progressi, vel amicitia vel ferro subimet inter eos sedes, quas hactenus habent, vindicarunt. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 1.*

cited. They follow'd the *Old Testament* (tho not binding to them) in one brother's marrying the other brother's ⁵⁷ widdow, for which they were ridiculouſly charg'd with incest by the Romanists, and absurdly reported not to marry at all; tho the thing be impossible in it ſelf, where any ſociety and government ſubſiſts. But what is not done after the manner of the Roman Clergy, is in their account as never done, or at leaſt very ill done. One of them ſays the Irifh *did not* ⁵⁸ *marry at all*, contrary to what he ſays himſelf elſwhere; and another pretends, that they *did not marry* ⁵⁹ *rightly*: both equally true, that is to ſay, both abſolutely falſe. We may eaſily imagine however, that where prieſts were not employ'd to marry, they had nothing to do about divorce, which makes them brand the Laity with too much facility in this article: and as little concern had they in the probatation of Wills, or in other Teſtamentary affairs; which a miſtaken notion of their Sanctity, together with an imaginary power of helping the dead into Paradise, made people ſottiſhly commit to their care. No footſtep of a ſpiritual Court is to be found in that Kingdom, for ſeveral hundred years after they became Chriſtians.

57. *Judaismus inducens* [*Clemens Scotus*] *judicat juſtum eſſe Chriſtiano, ut, ſi voluerit, viduam fratris defuncti accipiat uxorem. Bonifac. Epift. ad Zachariam Papam. tom. 3. concilior. par. 1. pag. 382.* Quinimo (quod valde deteſtabile eſt, & non tantum fidei, ſed & cuilibet honeſtati valde contrarium) fratres pluribus per Hiberniam locis fratrum defunctorum uxores, non dico ducunt, ſed traducunt, imò veriùs ſeducunt; dum turpiter eas, & tam inceſtuoſe cognoſcunt: Veteris in hoc Teſtamenti non medullae, ſed cortici adhaerentes; veteresque libentiùs in vitiis, quàm virtutibus, imitari volentes. *Girald Cambrenſ. Topograph. Hibern. diſtinct. 3. 6. 19.*

58. *Bernard. ubi ſupra in Notis 45 & 51.*

59. *Nondum Matrimonia ritè contrahunt. Ranulph. Higd. Polychron. de incolarum moribus.*

THAT they paid no ⁶⁰ Tythes till the Council of Cashel, was, to be sure, reckon'd an unpardonable crime by the Roman partisans, who ridiculously deriv'd the divine right of Tythes under the *Gospel* from the *Law of Moses*: as others of 'em, from some Laws of Heathen governments, asserted the natural right of Tythes; tho, unhappily for their pretences, this rather sets up the right of the Laity than of the Clergy. But voluntary Contributions contented those honest Irish Priests of old, who as yet did not aim at a spiritual empire; and so to make the people tributaries, instead of benefactors. Nor can I sufficiently admire the wisdom of our ancestors, for their not establishing at the beginning a *Landed Clergy*; which seldom fails to corrupt Religion, and to imbroid the State. This reflection the Irish found afterwards to be too true to their cost, when, from beginning with small glebes (better supply'd by stated salaries from the public) they promoted their Priests by degrees to great lordships; thus inspiring them to contract a separate interest, as the Pope presented them at length with Independency. Another thing among them most deserving the imitation of the moderns, tho few observe it so exactly as the Hollanders, is; that they seem to have had no more pastors than they had flocks, consonant to these metaphors designing preachers and people: no priests without a title as we phraze it, according to the third canon of the Synod held by PATRIC, AUXILIUS, and ISERNIN, *Let there be no ⁶¹ vagrant Priest*

⁶⁰. Non decimas, non primitias dare, &c. Bernard. ubi supra in Nota 51. Nondum decimas vel primitias solvunt. Girald. Cambrensis. ubi supra; & ex eo Ranulph. Higden in Polychronico. Ut Decimae dentur Ecclesiae, de omnibus quae possidentur. Concil. Cashel. can. 2. vel secundum Giraldum can. 3. anno 1172.

⁶¹. Clericus vagus non sit in populo. can. 3.

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57. *Judaismum inducens [Clemens Scotus] judicat justum esse Christiano, ut, si voluerit, viduam fratris defuncti accipiat uxorem. Bonifac. Epist. ad Zachariam Papam. tom. 3. concilior. par. 1. pag. 382. Quinimo (quod valde detestabile est, & non tantum fidei, sed & cuilibet honestati valde contrarium) fratres pluribus per Hiberniam locis fratrum defunctorum uxores, non dico ducunt, sed traducunt, imò veriùs seducunt; dum turpiter eas, & tam incestuosè cognoscunt: Veteris in hoc Testamenti non medullae, sed cortici adhaerentes; veteresque libentiùs in vitiis, quàm virtutibus, imitari volentes. Girald Cambrensis. Topograph. Hibern. distinct. 3. 6. 19.*

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⁶⁰. Non decimas, non primitias dare, &c. Bernard. ubi supra in Nota 51. Nondum decimas vel primitias solvunt. Girald. Cambrensis. ubi supra; & ex eo Ranulph. Higden in Polychronico. Ut Decimae dentur Ecclesiae, de omnibus quae possidentur. Concil. Cashel. can. 2. vel secundum Giraldum can. 3. anno 1172.

⁶¹. Clericus vagus non sit in populo. can. 3.

cited. They follow'd the *Old Testament* (tho not binding to them) in one brother's marrying the other brother's ⁵⁷ widdow, for which they were ridiculously charg'd with incest by the Romanists, and absurdly reported not to marry at all; tho the thing be impossible in it self, where any society and government subsists. But what is not done after the manner of the Roman Clergy, is in their account as never done, or at least very ill done. One of them says the Irish *did not* ⁵⁸ *marry at all*, contrary to what he says himself elsewhere; and another pretends, that they *did not marry* ⁵⁹ *rightly*: both equally true, that is to say, both absolutely false. We may easily imagine however, that where priests were not employ'd to marry, they had nothing to do about divorce, which makes them brand the Laity with too much facility in this article: and as little concern had they in the probation of Wills, or in other Testamentary affairs; which a mistaken notion of their Sanctity, together with an imaginary power of helping the dead into Paradise, made people foolishly commit to their care. No footstep of a spiritual Court is to be found in that Kingdom, for several hundred years after they became Christians.

57. Judaismum inducens [*Clemens Scotus*] judicat justum esse Christiano, ut, si voluerit, viduam fratris defuncti accipiat uxorem. *Bonifac. Epist. ad Zachariam Papam. tom. 3. concilior. par. 1. pag. 382.* Quinimo (quod valde detestabile est, & non tantum fidei, sed & cuilibet honestati valde contrarium) fratres pluribus per Hiberniam locis fratrum defunctorum uxores, non dico ducunt, sed traducunt, imò veriùs seducunt; dum turpiter eas, & tam incestuosè cognoscunt: Veteris in hoc Testamenti non medullae, sed cortici adhaerentes; veteresque libentiùs in vitiis, quàm virtutibus, imitari volentes. *Girald Cambrensis. Topograph. Hibern. distinct. 3. 6. 19.*

58. *Bernard. ubi supra in Notis 45 & 51.*

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⁶¹. Clericus vagus non sit in populo. can. 3.

among the people. This Synod was held in the Year 450.

XII. CELIBACY was not practis'd by the ⁶² Priests, who all marry'd; PATRIC, their pattern after PETER, having been himself the son of CALPHURNIUS a ⁶³ Deacon, and the grandson of POTITUS a Priest: and the Irish, as well as the Brittish Priests (PATRIC's countrymen) were often succeeded by their ⁶⁴ children in the same benefices, for some generations; no complaints being then heard against those disorders, which afterwards overspread the whole Iland, by reason of the expulsion of the marry'd Clergy. Nay the Archbishops of Armagh themselves were not onely marry'd, eight such being recorded, but succeeded hereditarily for fifteen generations, as we are assur'd by BERNARD in the ⁶⁵ Life of MALACHIAS, Archbishop of Armagh: that digdignity having been withall perfectly secular, like many such now in Germany; and the Bishops ab-

62. Siquis Clericus &c— & uxor ejus [*Clerici Nimirum*] si non velato capite ambulaverit, pariter a Laicis contemnentur, & ab Ecclesia separentur. *Ibid. Can. 6.*

63. So writes Probus, Jocelin, and all the writers of his Life, or that have any occasion to mention his Parents.

64. Successivè, & post patres, filii Ecclesias obtinent; non electivè, sed haereditate possidentes, & polluentes Sanctuarium Dei. *Girald. Cambrenf. in Cambriae descript.*

65. Mos pessimus inoleverat quorundam Diabolica ambitione potentum, sedem sanctam [*Ardmacham*] obtentum iri haereditariâ successionè; nec enim patiebantur Episcopari, nisi qui essent de tribu & familia sua. Nec enim parum processerat, execranda successio, decursis jam in hac malitia quasi generationibus quindecim. Et eò usque firmaverat sivi jus pravum, imò omni morte puniendam injuriam, generatio mala & adultera; ut, etsi interdum defecissent Clerici de sanguine illo, at Episcopi nunquam. Denique jam octo extiterant ante Celsum viri uxorati, & absque Ordinibus, literati tamen. Inde tota illa per universam Hiberniam de qua multa superiùs diximus, dissolutio Ecclesiasticae disciplinae, censurae enervatio, religionis evacuatio. *cap. 7.*

solute

solute Laymen, about which the Roman satellites made tragical outcries. What, by the way, will become of us, who are of the ancient Irish race? for the Archbishops of Armagh having been Laymen for so long a time, and all the Clergy deriving their Ordination from them, as its commonly thought; it follows, according to the present High-church doctrine, that, for want of a Succession of rightly ordain'd priests, we are very many of us, with all our Ancestors, unavoidably damp'd. C O R M A C the son of C U L L E N A N, a man of eminent learning and piety, author of *Psalter-Cashel* a chronological work of great authority, and likewise king of Munster in the beginning of the 10th century, was his own Bishop of Cashel (as the C Z A R has lately made himself his own Patriarch) which is not the sole example of this kind in Ireland, tho unknown to those who comment on this verse of VIRGIL,

Rex Anius, Rex idem hominum Phoebique Sacerdos.

The passage I have just now cited from BERNARD'S *life of MALACHIAS*, may be further illustrated by another passage, out of the *Extracts of the Register of the Priory of Saint ANDREWS*, cited by that learned Antiquary Sir JAMES DALRYMPLE: whence it appears, that, at Saint ANDREWS in Scotland, there were ⁶⁶ thirteen marry'd successions of the Culdees; *who*, says the author of these *Extracts*, *liv'd rather according to their own judgement and the traditions of men* (he

66. Cultus ibi religiosus deperierat, sicut gens barbara & inculta fuerat. Habebantur tamen in Ecclesia sancti Andreae, quota & qualis ipsa tunc erat, tredecim per successionem carnalem, quos Kelledeos appellant; qui secundum suam aestimationem, & hominum traditionem, magis quam secundum sanctorum statuta Patrum, vivebant. Sed adhuc similiter vivunt. *Excerpt. ex Registro Priorat. S. Andr. penes doctissimum virum, dominum Rob. Sibbald. Equit.*

shou'd have said the examples of the Gospel) than according to the Statutes of the holy Fathers, and they continue to live so still. Note that this Register ends in the beginning of King DAVID Bruce's reign: but more of these Culdees, or more properly Keldees, before I have done.

XIII.

THE Irish Monks, according to the ancient tho unscriptural institution of such men, were all fed and cloath'd by the labor of their own ⁶⁷ hands; those retir'd persons liberally imparting to others, instead of extorting provisions from them: but not living idly and vagrantly, like the begging fryars that came after them, to the scandal of Christianity and the disturbance of the world, to which they are a devouring burthen. Wheras the other Monks before them, and also the secular Priests of Scotland and Ireland, were famous over all the world for their virtue, piety, and learning; but particularly for their Conversions, and the Schools that they founded among the Picts, Anglosaxons, Germans, Burgundians, Switzers, and French: as who has not heard of SEDULIUS, COLUMBA, COLUMBANUS, COLMANNUS, AIDANUS, FURSEUS, KILIANUS, GALLUS, BRENDANUS, CLAUDIUS, CLEMENS, SCOTUS ERIGENA, and numberless others? among whom must not be forgot VIRGILIUS, Bishop of Saltzburg,

67. Qui in Monasteriis degunt, cum silentio operantes, suum panem manducant. *Autor vitae Fursei.* Monachum oportet labore manuum suarum vesci & vestiri. *Autor vitae Brendani.* Alii horum laboraverunt; alii arbores pomiferas excoluerunt. Beatus vero Gallus texebat retia; & misericordiâ dei cooperante, tantam piscium copiam cepit, ut nunquam fratribus defuissent: quinetiam adventantes peregrinos hujusmodi juvit solatio; & de eodem labore assiduas populo benedictiones exhibuit. *Walafrid. Strab. in vita Galli, l. i. c. 6.*

in the 8th century; who, having been an excellent philosopher and mathematician (farr above the pitch of the age wherein he liv'd) was barbarously persecuted for maintaining the spherical figure of the earth, and the existence of *Antipodes*; which opinion he was forc'd to recant, before he cou'd get out of prison. This shows what stress is to be laid upon forc'd recantations, when they are even made against mathematical evidence. Neither is it to be forgot, that those ancient Monks were of no order, nor indeed men in Orders at all (as ⁶⁸ J E R O M notes among others) but mere Laymen, out of whom the Clergy were commonly chosen: their Monasteries, and particularly those of the Britons, Irish, and Scots, having been Schools of all good literature; and many of 'em in the nature of Universities, as, to name no more, the British and Irish Bangor, the Scottish I-colum-kill and Abernethy, where were taught History, Philosophy, Theology, with all the liberal Sciences.

TEMPERANCE at all times, and one XIV.
moderate meal a day on special occasions (generally taken late, and about three in the afternoon, particularly on Wednesdays and Fridays in the 7th century) was all the fasting of those Monks; as may be seen among other evidences, by the ⁶⁹ Rule of C O L U M B A N, deserving to be publish'd in English: but not abstinence from certain kinds of

68. Alia Monachorum est causa, alia Clericorum: Clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor. *Epist. ad Heliodor.* Breviter respondeo, me in praesenti opusculo non de Clericis disputare, sed Monachum instituere—Ita ergo age & vive in Monasterio, ut Clericus esse merearis—Si te vel populus, vel pontifex civitatis, in Clerum elegerit; agito quae Cleri sunt, &c. *Epist. ad Rustic.*

69. *Videsis Columbani regulam, praesertim caput ejus quintum, ut & decimum tertium de quotidian. poenitent. Monachor.*

food, while they gormandiz'd and surfeited on others, more dainty, nourishing, and luscious. *The children of wisdom*, says ⁷⁰ CLAUDIUS, *do plainly understand; that righteousness consists not either in abstinence or eating: but in patiently bearing hunger when they want, and in temperately feeding when they abound; as well as in seasonably takeing or not takeing those things, wherof not the use but the abuse is blameworthy.* Such accurate language as this they commonly us'd, and not the recommendation of Vigils, or the injunction of Lent, or any other superstitious macerations of this nature: tending to the impairing of health, and, together with frequent holydays, to the manifest obstruction of ⁷¹ industry; but not conducing either to piety or probity, not procureing amendment of life or improvement of understanding.

XV. THE Church was esteem'd to be, not a political empire, or an organiz'd society with a proper subordination of officers and subjects; but the congregation of the faithful thro-out the world, whether visible or invisible, and however differing any where in their discipline or modes of worship; as the Irish differ'd among themselves, using their Christian liberty: and *the Sons of the Church* (that I may speak in the words of

⁷⁰ Ostendens evidenter [*Augustinus citatus a Claudio*] filios sapientiae intelligere, nec in abstinendo, nec in manducando esse justitiam: sed in aequanimitate tolerandi inopiam, & temperantiâ per abundantiam non se corrumpendi; atque opportunè sumendi vel non sumendi ea, quorum non usus, sed concupiscentia, reprehendenda est. *Lib. 2. in Mat.*

⁷¹ The political Lent injoin'd in England for preserving the breed of cattle, appears to have been impolitically enough devis'd by daily experience; there having never been such abundance of cattle bred, as since the non observance of the Acts to this purpose.

⁷² CLAU-

⁷² CLAUDIUS) they held to be all those, who, from the beginning of the world till this time, have attain'd to be just and holy. This is a true and generous account: for the *Communion of Saints* consists in faith and holiness, but not in modes and forms. But so little did these western Latitudinarians imagin the universal Church was infallible, or that any particular Church was indefectible or indefeasible, that they frequently bemoan'd their exorbitant corruptions; complaining that the number of the faithful was sometimes so ⁷³ small, as to be hardly, if at all, discernable.

THEY did not in the least acknowledge the headship of the Roman Church, as may be observ'd beyond all controversy in our first *Section*; and likewise from the *Epistle of Pope GREGORY* the first, in the Year 592, inviting them to ⁷⁴ Catholic unity: as also from the *Epistle of* ⁷⁵ LAURENCE Archbishop of Canterbury and his associates, exhorting, beseeching, and conjuring them, to unite with the Roman, which he

XVI.

72. Ecclesiae filii sunt omnes, ab institutione generis humani usque nunc, quotquot justī & sancti esse potuerunt. *lib. 2. in Mat.*

73. Nonnunquam Ecclesia tantis Gentilium pressuris, non solum afflicta, sed & foedata est; ut, si fieri possit, redemptor ipsius eam prorsus deseruisse ad tempus videretur. *Id. Ibid.* Ecclesia non apparebit, impiis tunc Persecutoribus ultra modum saevientibus, &c. *Id. lib. 3. in Mat.*

74. Unde iterum habitâ locutione, charitatem vestram admo-neo, ut (quoniam, deo suffragante, fidei nostrae integritas in causa trium capitulorum inviolata permansit) mentis tumore deposito, tantò citiùs ad matrem vestram, quae filios suos expectat & invitat, Ecclesiam redeatis; quantò vos ab ea quotidie expectari cognoscitis. *Gregor. Regest. l. 2. Epist. 36.*

75. Scripsit cum Episcopis suis adhortatoriam ad eos Epistolam; obsecrans eos & contestans, unitatem pacis, & Catholicae observationis cum ea, quae toto orbe diffusa est, Christi Ecclesia tenere. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 5.*

means by the Catholic Church. Neither did they own the supremacy of any other Church on earth, managing all their affairs, both civil and religious, within themselves: but receiving no visitations, palls, indulgences, or any other the like marks of subjection, from the Roman Pontiff, till ⁷⁶ after the tenth and eleventh centuries; yet not refusing to send or receive messages, in case of any transaction with foren Churches. Nor had they any Archbishops (properly so call'd in the Roman sense) till P A P A R O, the Pope's Legat, brought ⁷⁷ four palls to Ireland in the year 1151: the Bishop of Armagh being stil'd by foren or late writers Archbishop, onely out of reverence to the ⁷⁸ seat of P A T R I C, the Apostle of the nation; as others were unwarrantably so stil'd by the same men, tho without any palls or provisions from Rome.

XVII. LASTLY, the so often mention'd ⁷⁹ BERNARD taxes the Irish, with having as many Bishops almost as Churches; and sometimes they had

76. Aegrè satis ferebat [*Malachias*] Hiberniam usque adhuc Pallio caruisse; utpote aemulator sacramentorum, quorum ne uno quolibet gentem suam vellet omnino fraudari. *Bernard. in vita Malach.* Metropoliticae sedis [*Ardmachanae scilicet*] deerat adhuc, & defuerat ab initio, pallii usus. *Id. ibid.*

77. Anno 1151, Papa Eugenius quatuor pallia, per Legatum suum Johannem Papirum, transmisit in Hiberniam, quò nunquam antea Pallium delatum fuerat. *Annal. Melross. pag. 167.* Archiepiscopi vero in Hibernia nulli fuerant, sed tantum se Episcopi invicem consecrabant; donec Johannes Papyrio, Romanae sedis Legatus, non multis retrò annis advenit, &c. *Girald. Cambrens. Topograph. Hibern. distinct. 3. cap. 17.*

78. Hic [*Gelasius*] primus Archiepiscopus dicitur, quia primo Pallio usus est. Alii verò ante ipsum solo nomine Archiepiscopi & Primates vocabantur, ob reverentiam & honorem Sancti Patricii, tanquam Apostoli illius gentis. *Annal. Hibern. a Camdeno editi: item Casaeus in Chronic. Hibern. ad annum 1174.*

79. Unus Episcopatu uno non esset contentus, sed singulae penè Ecclesiae singulos haberent Episcopos. *In vita Malachiae, c. 7.*

more than one Bishop in one city, nay they had them in villages, as LANFRANC of Canterbury and many others ⁸⁰ assure us. This was but treading in their admir'd PATRIC's steps: who, as ⁸¹ NENNIUS, the most ancient British historian after GILDAS, relates, *founded 365 Churches, and ordain'd 365 Bishops and more (with 3000 Presbyters) in whom was the Spirit of God.* I shall not dispute with any here about the word *Bishop*, which, besides its being an apostolical word, is very significantly us'd by other writers to as many purposes, as *Overseer*, the English of it, can be apply'd: nor shall I deny the convenience, or even the divine right, of many Presbyters having one of their body to preside over them for a time or for life; as there is a chairman among the Justices of a certain district, or as any other assemblies have their president. It matters not, whether such a one (for just causes deposeable) be call'd *Bishop* or *Superintendent*; the first being Greec, and the second Latin for *Overseer*. Whether he be call'd a *Moderator*, I say, or be design'd by any other name of like import, signifies nothing; which ought to take away all scruple against using the word *Bishop*, if it be not preferable to others for being the *Scripture* term. Against such Bishops therefore I have no exception: and such were the Bishops in England at the beginning of the Reformation. But that *Bishop* in Ireland did, in the fifth or sixth centuries (for example) signify a distinct or-

80. Quòd in villis vel civitatibus plures ordinantur. In Epist. ad Terdelvachum regem Hiberniae, apud Baron. ad annum 1089: apud Usser. in Sylloge: & inter opera Lanfranc.

81. Ecclesias fundavit CCCLXV; ordinavit Episcopos eodem numero, & eo amplius, in quibus spiritus Dei erat, CCCLXV: Presbyteros autem usque ad tres mille ordinavit. Hist. Brit. cap. 59: quod & ab aliis quàmplurimis confirmatur; a nobis, cum opus fuerit, adducendis.

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MAOLIOSA.

der of men, by whom alone Presbyters cou'd be ordain'd, and without which kind of Ordination their ministry were invalid, this I absolutely deny: as I do that those Bishops were Diocesan *Bishops*, when nothing is plainer than that most of 'em had no Bishopricks at all in our modern sense; not to speak of those numerous Bishops frequently going out of Ireland, not call'd to Bishopricks abroad, and many of 'em never prefer'd there. This is a fact none can deny. It was but in the 11th century that the Irish Bishops were reduc'd, by the first Legate they receiv'd from the Pope, to the number of twenty six; and that the Kingdom was parcell'd out into Dioceses, to which those Bishops were severally assign'd and limited. The bringing of this to pass, both for the better preventing of disputes about Jurisdiction, which by that time had been introduc'd, and for the more effectual securing of the Pope's dominion by these his Intendants, was the chief reason of convoking the Synod of Rathbressail, where the Legate above-mention'd, GILBERT Bishop of Limerick, presided; and under him sat CELSUS of Armach, and MALISIUS of Cashel, attended by no fewer than fifty Bishops; which shows to what a different state Episcopacy was then grown from what it was formerly in Ireland, especially in the two first centuries of their Christianity. The right reverend the Bishop of ⁸² Carlisle, to whom all men of Letters are so much indebted, owns, that ⁸³ *the Bishops in Scotland* (which were upon the same foot with those of Ireland) *had anciently no certain and fixt sees; but that every Prelate exer-*

⁸². *Now of London-Derry.*

⁸³. *Scottish historical Library, chap. 5. pag. 210.*

cis'd his Episcopal office and jurisdiction indiscriminately, in whatever part of the kingdom he chanc'd to be. His Lordship is not pleas'd to tell us, what this jurisdiction cou'd be, of Bishops that had no Dioceses; nor how they cou'd agree, when they met together in one place, where each had equal power. I am certain however there was nothing temporal in this jurisdiction. But tho this be not the place I have design'd for such matters, yet I cannot but wonder, if the power and jurisdiction of the Irish and Albanian Bishops were such as some pretend, that O S W A L D, the Saxon King of Northumberland, shou'd not send to those Bishops for persons to instruct his subjects in the Christian Religion; but that he dispatcht his request for such *to their Elders* (as B E D E ⁸⁴ informs us) whether by these be meant the Elders of their Churches, or the Elders of their People: for King O S W A L D, who liv'd so many years in exile among them, and who there became a Christian, must have been well acquainted with their Diocesan Episcopacy, if any such institution had then existed.

SUCH (MEGALETOR) was the Christianity of the antient Irish; for I look upon the contents of the seventeen paragraphs before-going, to be points, that, without manifest prevarication, will not admit of any valid exception, of any ambiguous construction, or other sophistical evasion. Most of 'em are positive facts, deliver'd by authentic writers: and the rest confirm'd by the irrecusable witness of the Pope's most

84. Misit ad *maiores natu Scottorum*, inter quos exulans ipse Baptismatis sacramenta, cum his qui secum erant militibus, consecutus erat; petens ut sibi mitteretur Antistes, cujus doctrinâ ac ministerio gens, quam regebat, Anglorum, Dominicae fidei & dona disceret, & susciperet sacramenta. *Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3.*

zealous votaries, who frequently declaim'd against them, as so many intolerable abuses. When BERNARD (for example) in the *life of MALACHIAS*, relates his being made Bishop of Connor, he says that ⁸⁵ *he came not to men but to beasts, absolute barbarians, a stubborn, stiffnecked, and ungovernable generation* (you wou'd think it was some Highchurchman railing against Dissenters) *impious*, continues he, *and abominable, Christians in name, but in reality pagans*. Now, what think you are the grounds of this heavy charge? or what the provocations that put this good *Father* into such a rage? He immediately subjoins them, and they ⁸⁶ are, *that they neither pay'd Tythes nor first-fruit offerings, that they wou'd not be lawfully marry'd* (that is, by the Clergy) *that they refus'd going to Confession; and that neither the Laity wou'd undergo any pennance, nor their Priests impose it*, before the blessed alteration (forsooth) made by MALACHIAS. Such complaints are as valid proofs in their due place, as positive testimonies can possibly be. Besides that it was the common artifice of the Monks, to declaim in the bitterest terms against all men in all countries, who did not blindly receive their doctrines, as wholly dissolute and licentious: till they were reclaim'd, if you believe them, by their powerful preaching; that is, till they became vassals to their Mo-

85. Cùm autem coepisset pro officio suo agere, tunc intellexit homo Dei non ad homines se, sed ad bestias destinatum. Nusquam adhuc tales expertus fuerat, in quantacunque barbarie: nusquam repererat sic protervos ad mores, sic ferales ad ritus, sic ad fidem impios, ad leges barbaros, cervicofos ad disciplinam, spurcos ad vitam; Christiani nomine, re Pagani —

86. Non decimas, non primitias dare, non legitima inire conjugia, non facere confessiones; poenitentias nec qui peteret, nec qui daret penitus inveniri. *In vita Malachiae, cap. 6: quem locum superius etiam adduximus in Notis 51 & 60.*

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narch the Pope, and resign'd their understandings to his Janizaries the Priests. But in the discussion of these things, we shall not admit the chimerical and visionary testimonies of legendary authors; who wrote of the matters in question, long after the time wherein they happen'd: and who judg'd of them, or at least transmitted them to others, according to the ideas of their own times; which is a practice no less frequent, than very erroneous and dangerous. One critical rule I shall always observe, as being equally just and necessary, viz. 'neither to conclude from some things amiss in those elder times, that all were so; having the nature of things and undeniable facts to the contrary, not a few superstitions being crept in even from the beginning: nor to infer from some things right in later times, that all things continu'd as right as before, when the contrary is likewise from nature and facts most evident.' Yet so many things remain'd among the Irish, even to the English conquest, opposite to the Religion and Government of Rome (in spite of all the ignorance, bigotry, and barbarity, to which by that time this same Rome had reduc'd them) that Pope ADRIAN the fourth, in his *brief* to King HENRY the second in the year 1154, for encouraging him to undertake that conquest, alleges for his motives in so doing; *the*⁸⁷ *enlarging the bounds of the Church* (which is a very singular expression, if Ireland had been of his Church before) *the declaring the truth of the Christian faith to those un-*

87. Ad dilatandos Ecclesiae terminos, ad declarandum indoctis & rudibus populis Christianae fidei veritatem, & vitiorum plantaria de agro Domini extirpanda. *Apud Baron. ad annum 1159 & apud alios complures, praecipue verò apud Usserium nostrum in Epistolar. Hibernicar. sylloge; & ex autographo apud Rymerum, tom. 1. pag. 15.*

learned and rude people, and the encreasing of the Christian Religion, as well (continues he) as to extirpate the nurseries of vice out of the field of the Lord. Disobedience to the Roman see, especially in public Schools, is reckon'd the greatest of vices; and no virtue allow'd, where there is not absolute subjection profess'd to it. This charge of unfoundness in the faith, JOHN HARDING, an old English poet, thus expresses in the 132d chapter of his *Chronicle*.

*The King HENRY then conquered all Ireland
By Papal dome, there of his Royaltee
The profits and revenues of the land,
The domination, and the soveraigntee,
For errour which against the spiritualtee
They held full long, and would not been correct
Of Heresies, with which they were infect.*

CUMMINN.

SEAGHAN.

But the Pope's real motive, was the tribute of Smoke-mony, or *Peterpence* (as commonly call'd) from every family ⁸⁸ annually; which those people refus'd, and King HENRY promis'd to pay. The Heresy, according to the Irish, was on the Pope's side, the partisans of whose predecessors were by them without ceremony call'd Heretics; as we are inform'd, among others, by ⁸⁹ CUMMIAN, whom we quoted in the first section, and who wrote to SEGIAN of I-columb-kill for the Roman See, in the year 650. Yet this very CUMMIAN, in not daring to condemn the practice of his ancestors, acknowledg'd the novelty

88. Et de singulis domibus annuam unius denarii beato Petro velle solvere pensionem — *Ibid.*

89. Nolite nos Haereticos vocare, &c. *In Epist. ad Segianum Huensm Abbatem, supra citat. in Nota 6.*

in Ireland of the doctrine he had lately espous'd. Our Elders (says ⁹⁰ he) whom you have as a pretence for your opposition, did simply and faithfully, without the blame of any contradiction or animosity, observe what they knew to be best in their days, and did so recommend it to their posterity. I leave it now, Sir, for your self to determin, which were the real Heretics (according to the bad sense of this word) the Romanists or the Irish? or whether any thing can be more preposterous in these last, than to be so mighty fond of the Pope, who together with their Clergy, betray'd the country to the English? Good terms he therefore made for the Clergy, but none at all for the Laity. Besides the privileges of Churches preserv'd inviolable, how unreasonable soever in themselves; all Ecclesiastical lands were ⁹¹ exempted from any manner of service or payment to the public, not contributing a penny towards the support of the Government: which immunity and independency was the bait that made them betray their country, as all Clergymen will do in the like case.

SECTION III.

HAVING had frequent occasion (MEGAL-
LETOR) to mention the Scots, a name o- *Scuit*
riginally belonging to the Inhabitants of Ireland,

90. Seniores verò (quos in velamine repulsionis habetis) quod optimum in diebus suis esse noverunt, simpliciter & fideliter, sine culpa contradictionis ullius & animositatis, observaverunt, & suis posteris sic mandaverunt. *Ibid.*

91. Jure nimirum Ecclesiarum illibato & integro permanente, & salvâ beato Petro, & sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, de singulis Domibus annuâ unius denarii pensione. *Adriani Papae Breve, jam citat. in notis 87 & 88.* Ut terrae Ecclesiasticae ab omni secularium exactiōe sint immunes. *Concil. Cassil. can. 4.*

that they had diligently study'd the *Scriptures*, and explain'd them to others even in their childhood. Tis for teaching the *Scriptures*, in fine, that you'll find the Irish Schools of those times ³⁸ celebrated; but never for reading Lectures on the *Fathers*, or handing down Tradition: and tis not improbable, that in those tumultuous times, the Muses may have fled from the noise of arms, to these recesses, which the Roman eagles had never disturb'd.

II. IN their Temples they had no images or statues, which SEDULIUS, one of their first Divines, expressly ³⁹ condemns, and which others of 'em brand as heathenish and idolatrous. The Clergy, officiating in those Temples, had no gorgeous vestments; rather dazling the eye and distracting the imagination, than informing the mind or edifying the heart. There were not, to the same amuzing purposes, any burning of incense or day-light candles; no costly services of plate, the great COLUMBAN himself being content with ⁴⁰ brass vessels in the administration of the Lord's Supper. Neither had they Canonical hours, or alternate singing in Choirs; which, with many other such Romish customs, were ⁴¹ intro-

38. Venit etiam tunc temporis de Hibernia pontifex quidam, nomine Agilbertus, natione quidem Gallus; sed tunc, legendarum gratiâ Scripturarum, in Hibernia non modico tempore dimoratus. *Gervas. Dorobern. Act. Pontif. Cantaur. in Sancto Honorio.*

39. Recedentes a lumine veritatis sapientes, quasi qui invenissent quo modo invisibilis Deus per simulacrum visibile coleretur. *In Roman. 1. Deus nec in metallo aut saxo cognoscitur. Claudius Scotus, l. 2. in Mat.*

40. Praeceptor meus beatus Columbanus in vasis aeneis Domino solet sacrificium offerre salutis. *Walafrid. Strab. in vita Galli, l. 1. c. 18.*

41. Apostolicas Sanctiones, ac Decreta Sanctorum Patrum, praecipueque consuetudines Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, in cunctis Ecclesiis

introduc'd by MALACHIAs Archbishop of Armagh, in the 11th century. Nor had they any such other methods, since but too frequently practis'd, of pompous, operose, and sumtuous worship; so visibly foren to the design and example of the *Gospel*, nay so contrary to the precepts of it.

THEIR Liturgy was very different from that of the Roman Church, or rather their Liturgies; for they had several in the several parts of the Island. Yet this bred no manner of dissention among them, till the Bishops of Rome having first gain'd their Princes (a stratagem ordinary with them to this hour) wou'd needs make 'em their tools and drudges to force their own subjects, since the Popes cou'd not by their emissaries seduce them, into *Uniformity*; I mean into subjection, which is ever the signification of this word. But GILBERT Bishop of Limerick, the Pope's first Irish Legat (who in the 11th century wrote for their use what he calls *the 42 Canonical custom of saying evening and morning prayers, and of performing the office of the whole ecclesiastical order*) tells ⁴³ them, it was *to the end those different and schismatical orders, by which almost all Ireland was deluded, might give place to one Catholic and Roman office*. Thus late it was, before they quite gave up their liberty and independency. That their

III.

GILLE-
ASPUIC.

Ecclesiis [Malachias] statuebat. Hinc est, quod hodieque in illis ad horas Canonicas cantatur & psallitur, juxta morem universae terrae: nam minimè id ante fiebat, ne in civitate quidem [Ardmacha] cum necdum in civitate, seu in Episcopatu universo, cantare scirent vel vellent. Bernard. in vita Malachiae, cap. 2.

42. Canonicaem consuetudinem in dicendis horis, & peragendo totius Ecclesiastici ordinis officio. Prolog. de usu Ecclesiastico MS. in Colleg. Ben. Cantabrig. & ab Usserio in Epistolar. Hibernicar. sylloge impress.

43. Ut diversi & schismatici illi Ordines, quibus Hibernia penè tota delusa est, uni Catholico & Romano cedant Officio. Id. ibid.

orders

orders for public prayers were not Roman was the crime, but not charg'd with any other defect.

IV. IT is not seven hundred years, since the Irish did finally and universally receive the Roman use, with its whole train of fopperies; their Baptism before that time having been by immerfion, and without consecrated Chrism, wherof L A N-
FRANC, Archbishop of Canterbury, not a little ⁴⁴ complains. Nor had it any of those conjurings, or other superstitious ceremonies, whereby it is since so heathenishly profan'd: and Confirmation was quite in difuse, if at all ever known among them; which we learn from ⁴⁵ BERNARD of Clairval, afterwards fainted. If it be true what BROMPTON tells us, that, before the *Council* of Cashel held at HENRY the Second's desire, it was the custom in many parts of Ireland, for the father, or any other, to dip the child three times in water as soon as it was born; and, if it was a rich man's child, to dip it thrice in ⁴⁶ milk: if this be true, I say, for I have good reason to question it; yet it was introduc'd in that state of barbarity, which I have before describ'd, and wherof I assign'd the true cause.

44. Quod infantes Baptismo, sine Chrismate consecrato, baptizentur. *In Epist. ad Terdelvachum regem Hiberniae.*

45. Usus saluberrimus Confessionis, Sacramentum Confirmationis, contractum Conjugiorum (quae omnia aut ignorabant aut negligebant) Malachias de novo instituit. *In vita Malachiae, cap. 2.*

46. In illo autem Concilio statuerunt, & autoritate summi Pontificis praeceperunt, pueros in Ecclesia baptizari in nomine patris, & filii, & spiritus sancti; & hoc a sacerdotibus fieri praeceperunt: mos enim prius erat per diversa loca Hiberniae, quod statim cum puer nasceretur, pater ipsius, vel quilibet alius, eum mergeret ter in aqua; & si divitis filius esset, ter in lacte mergeretur. *Joan. Bromton in Chronico.*

THE Lord's Supper (which they were wont to term ⁴⁷ *the communion of CHRIST's body and blood*) they receiv'd in both kinds, as a thankful ⁴⁸ commemoration of JESUS the founder of their faith, and a sign of their brotherly union in all well-doing; to which they bound themselves by this external act, denoting their subjection to the Laws of the *Gospel*; by which alone, and the dictates of reason, they were guided in matters of belief. They did not use any elevation, because they did not dream of the monster of transubstantiation; which, soon after its broaching, was impugn'd by no man more zealously or learnedly, than by JOANNES SCOTUS ERIGENA, whose book was, by the authority of the Pope and the Council of Verceil, flatly ⁴⁹ condemn'd, the onely way they had to confute it: as this method of answering is successively practis'd to this day, by the promoters of error every where, and by those who prefer interest to truth; a method, I repeat it, onely proper to support error, and to put truth it self upon the level with falsehood. No Council or Convocation whatsoever can alter the nature of things, or make that to be false which is true: and for this reason it is, that no wise man ever values their sentence, where tis not back'd with the power of doing mischief.

EOIN ERIGENA.
RINACH.

47. *Sic omnes ferme secundum Scripturas loquuntur.*

48. Suam memoriam nobis reliquit, quemadmodum, si quis peregrè proficiscens, aliquod pignus ei, quem diligit, derelinquat; ut quotiescunque illud viderit, possit ejus beneficia & amicitias recordari. *Sedul. in 1 Corinth. 11. Consulantur etiam Notulae ex Catena manuscripta in superiore sectione adductae.*

49. Joannis Scoti liber de Eucharistia lectus est & condemnatus. *Lanfranc. de Eucharist. contra Berengar.* Inter cetera fecit librum de Eucharistia, qui postea lectus est, & condemnatus in Synodo Vercellensi, a Papa Leone celebrata. *Joan. Parisiens. ad annum 877.*

This

This JOHN the Scot (so often confounded with later persons of the same name) having left his own country, betook himself to CHARLES the bald king of France, who entertain'd and distinguish'd him at his court; which was full of learned men from all parts, but especially from Ireland and Scotland. *Why shou'd I mention Ireland, says ⁵⁰ ERIC of auxerre a contemporary, not fearing the danger of the sea, and removing almost all of it with a flock of Philosophers, to our shores? wherof by how much any one excells the rest, he undergoes a voluntary exile; and by so much the readier he is to stand before our most wise SOLOMON, and to devote himself to his Service.*

VI.

THEY rejected auricular ⁵¹ Confession, as well as authoritative Absolution; and confess'd to God alone, as believing God alone cou'd forgive Sins: which made I know not whom to exclaim most grievously against such, and to ⁵² say; *that if they cou'd conceal their sins from God, they wou'd no more confess them to him than to the Priest.* A very shrewd and egregious discovery! but laught at by the Irish Laity, who, notwithstanding their native simplicity, cou'd discern this sanctify'd trap laid for their private and public liberty, with all the subtilty of hypocritical Priests. As

50. Quid Hiberniam memorem, contempto pelagi discrimine, penè totam, cum grege Philosophorum, ad litora nostra migrantem? quorum quisquis, peritior est, ultrò sibi indicat exilium, ut Solomoni Sapientissimo famuletur ad votum. *Praefat. in poem. de vita sancti Germani.*

51. Christiani nomine, re Pagani: non decimas, non primitias dare, non legitima inire conjugia, non facere confessiones; poenitentias nec qui peteret, nec qui daret penitus inveniri. *Bernard. in Vita Malach cap. 6. ut & idem ubi supra in Nota 45, Usus saluberrimum Confessionis——aut ignorabant aut negligebant.*

52. Deo vis, o homo, confiteri, quem nolens volens latere non possis——forte si Deum latere, sicut hominem, potuisses; nec Deo, plusquam homini, confiteri voluisses.

there

there can be nothing more directly levell'd against common sense, than auricular Confession; nor a more impudent pretension in nature, than authoritative Absolution: so I do not wonder to find the antient Irish Christians, more frequently taxt by the Romish converters of that time, for omitting or refusing the practice of these than of any other injunctions. The reason is manifest. For once a man abandons the use of his understanding so farr, as to make a particular enumeration of his thoughts, words, and actions to another; and to believe that this other will not only keep his secret (tho sworn to the interest of a political community call'd the CHURCH) but that he's likewise able to absolve him from the guilt of all his sins, there is nothing to which such a man cannot be brought: and therefore those Clergymen, who have form'd designs against Liberty civil or religious, are indefatigable to inculcate the necessity of sacerdotal Absolution and particular Confession. Nor are there any surer marks, wherby to distinguish the emissaries of Rome; who are aware that those points, once admitted, will easily draw after them all the rest.

THEY were so farr from pretending to do more good than they were oblig'd, much less to superabound in merit for the benefit of others (but such others as shou'd purchase these superfluities of grace from their executors the Priests) that they readily deny'd all merit of their own; and solely hop'd for salvation from the mercy of God, thro faith in JESUS CHRIST: which faith, as a living root, was to produce the fruit of good works, without which it were barren or dead, and consequently useless; for as CLAUDIUS, one of their most celebrated Divines, observes

VII.

I

from

from some other ⁵³ sage, *the faithful man does not live by righteousness, but the righteous man by faith.* This excellent sentence, cull'd out of numberless testimonies to the same purpose in the oldest writers, comprehends at once and decides the whole controverſy.

VIII. THO they neither pray'd to dead men, nor for them; yet, in their public worship, they made an honorable mention of holy persons deceas'd: offering a sacrifice of thanksgiving for their exemplary life and death, but not by way of propitiation for their sins. And tho naming particular men on ſuch occasions, gave a handle for erecting them afterwards into tutelary Saints; yet at that time the Irish were as farr from addreſſing themſelves to ſaints as to angels. For they were perſuaded (to uſe the words of the juſt mention'd ⁵⁴ CLAUDIUS) that *while we are in the preſent world, we may help one another either by our Prayers or by our Counſels; but when we come before the tribunal of CHRIST, neither JOB, nor DANIEL, nor NOAH, can intercede for any one, but every one muſt bear his own burthen,* which is plain Senſe and Scripture. But that which is plain nonſenſe, and no where authoriz'd in Scripture, I mean the ſervice for the dead, the Irish never practis'd, till they were oblig'd to do it by the Council of ⁵⁵ Caſhel, convok'd by order of HENRY the ſecond, in the Year 1172. And tis certain, that nothing

53. Scita eſt enim Sapientis viri illa ſententia, non fidelem vivere ex juſtitia, ſed juſtum ex fide. *In Galat. 3.*

54. Dum in praeſenti ſeculo ſumus, ſive orationibus, ſive conſiliis invicem poſſe nos adjuvari: cum autem ante tribunal Chriſti venerimus, nec Job, nec Daniel, nec Noë, rogare poſſe pro quocumque; ſed unumquemque portare onus ſuum. *In Galat. 6.*

55. Ut extrema officia mortuis reddantur. *can. 7.*

does more contribute to harden the more ignorant sort in a vicious course of life, than this mumme-ry: when they observe such things said and done at burials, with relation to their deceas'd profligate companions; as may persuade 'em they are upon a level with the best, for all their past wickedness.

NONE of those pious men or women, whom they accounted their Saints, were ever canoniz'd by any Pope before the Romish usurpation; not PATRIC himself, nor COLUMBA, nor FURSEUS, nor BRIGIT: for which I need not bring any proof, because no proof can by any be brought to the contrary. MALACHIAS O MORGAI R Arch-^{MAOLMAE} bishop of Armagh (the introducer of the Cistercian ^{DOC.} fryers into that Country in the 11th century) and LAURENCE O TOLE (Archbishop of Dublin ^{LORCAN} in the time of the conquest) are the first that were papally canoniz'd in Ireland. Nor, before the said usurpation, was the very word Purgatory known to the Irish writers, notwithstanding the silly after-fable of PATRIC's cave; of which I might give you an entertaining account, this PATRIC's *Purgatory* being situate in the county where I was born. They did indeed entertain the notion of a middle state of blis or insensibility, a good while before they transform'd it into a place of temporary torment; both alike groundless, and unscriptural.

MATRIMONY was celebrated by the Magistrates, as being truly reckon'd a civil contract appertaining to their jurisdiction; but not solemniz'd by the Priests, till this right was vested in them by the ⁵⁶ Council of Cashel, twice already

⁵⁶. Ut omnes Laici, qui uxores habere velint, eas secundum jus Ecclesiasticum habeant. *Can. 3. vel secundum Girald. Cambrenf. Can. 1.*

cited. They follow'd the *Old Testament* (tho not binding to them) in one brother's marrying the other brother's ⁵⁷ widdow, for which they were ridiculously charg'd with incest by the Romanists, and absurdly reported not to marry at all; tho the thing be impossible in it self, where any society and government subsists. But what is not done after the manner of the Roman Clergy, is in their account as never done, or at least very ill done. One of them says the Irish *did not* ⁵⁸ *marry at all*, contrary to what he says himself elsewhere; and another pretends, that they *did not marry* ⁵⁹ *rightly*: both equally true, that is to say, both absolutely false. We may easily imagine however, that where priests were not employ'd to marry, they had nothing to do about divorce, which makes them brand the Laity with too much facility in this article: and as little concern had they in the probation of Wills, or in other Testamentary affairs; which a mistaken notion of their Sanctity, together with an imaginary power of helping the dead into Paradise, made people foolishly commit to their care. No footstep of a spiritual Court is to be found in that Kingdom, for several hundred years after they became Christians.

57. Judaisimum inducens [*Clemens Scotus*] judicat justum esse Christiano, ut, si voluerit, viduam fratris defuncti accipiat uxorem. *Bonifac. Epist. ad Zachariam Papam. tom. 3. concilior. par. 1. pag. 382.* Quinimo (quod valde detestabile est, & non tantum fidei, sed & cuilibet honestati valde contrarium) fratres pluribus per Hiberniam locis fratrum defunctorum uxores, non dico ducunt, sed traducunt, imò veriùs seducunt; dum turpiter eas, & tam incestuosè cognoscunt: Veteris in hoc Testamenti non medullae, sed cortici adhaerentes; veteresque libentiùs in vitiis, quàm virtutibus, imitari volentes. *Girald Cambrenf. Topograph. Hibern. distinct. 3. 6. 19.*

58. *Bernard. ubi supra in Notis 45 & 51.*

59. Nondum Matrimonia ritè contrahunt. *Ranulph. Hig. Polychron. de incolarum moribus.*

THAT they paid no ⁶⁰ Tythes till the Council of Cashel, was, to be sure, reckon'd an unpardonable crime by the Roman partisans, who ridiculously deriv'd the divine right of Tythes under the *Gospel* from the *Law of Moses*: as others of 'em, from some Laws of Heathen governments, asserted the natural right of Tythes; tho, unhappily for their pretences, this rather sets up the right of the Laity than of the Clergy. But voluntary Contributions contented those honest Irish Priests of old, who as yet did not aim at a spiritual empire; and so to make the people tributaries, instead of benefactors. Nor can I sufficiently admire the wisdom of our ancestors, for their not establishing at the beginning a *Landed Clergy*; which seldom fails to corrupt Religion, and to imbroider the State. This reflection the Irish found afterwards to be too true to their cost, when, from beginning with small glebes (better supply'd by stated salaries from the public) they promoted their Priests by degrees to great lordships; thus inspiring them to contract a separate interest, as the Pope presented them at length with Independency. Another thing among them most deserving the imitation of the moderns, tho few observe it so exactly as the Hollanders, is; that they seem to have had no more pastors than they had flocks, consonant to these metaphors designing preachers and people: no priests without a title as we phrase it, according to the third canon of the Synod held by PATRIC, AUXILIUS, and ISEARNIN, *Let there be no ⁶¹ vagrant Priest*

60. Non decimas, non primitias dare, &c. Bernard. ubi supra in Nota 51. Nondum decimas vel primitias solvunt. Girald. Cambrensis. ubi supra; & ex eo Ranulph. Higden. in Polychronico. Ut Decimae dentur Ecclesiae, de omnibus quae possidentur. Concil. Cashel. can. 2. vel secundum Giraldum can. 3. anno 1172.

61. Clericus vagus non sit in populo. can. 3.

among the people. This Synod was held in the Year 450.

XII. CELIBACY was not practis'd by the ⁶² Priests, who all marry'd; PATRIC, their pattern after PETER, having been himself the son of CALPHURNIUS a ⁶³ Deacon, and the grandson of POTITUS a Priest: and the Irish, as well as the Brittish Priests (PATRIC's countrymen) were often succeeded by their ⁶⁴ children in the same benefices, for some generations; no complaints being then heard against those disorders, which afterwards overspread the whole Iland, by reason of the expulsion of the marry'd Clergy. Nay the Archbishops of Armagh themselves were not onely marry'd, eight such being recorded, but succeeded hereditarily for fifteen generations, as we are assur'd by BERNARD in the ⁶⁵ *Life of MALACHIAS*, Archbishop of Armagh: that digdignity having been withall perfectly secular, like many such now in Germany; and the Bishops ab-

62. Siquis Clericus &c— & uxor ejus [*Clerici Nimirum*] si non velato capite ambulaverit, pariter a Laicis contemnentur, & ab Ecclesia separentur. *Ibid. Can. 6.*

63. So writes Probus, Jocelin, and all the writers of his Life, or that have any occasion to mention his Parents.

64. Successivè, & post patres, filii Ecclesias obtinent; non electivè, sed haereditate possidentes, & polluentes Sanctuarium Dei. *Girald. Cambrenf. in Cambriae descript.*

65. Mos pessimus inoleverat quorundam Diabolica ambitione potentum, sedem sanctam [*Ardmacham*] obtentum iri haereditariâ successione; nec enim patiebantur Episcopari, nisi qui essent de tribu & familia sua. Nec enim parum processerat, execranda successio, decursis jam in hac malitia quasi generationibus quindecim. Et eò usque firmaverat sivi jus pravum, imò omni morte puniendam injuriam, generatio mala & adultera; ut, etsi interdum defecissent Clerici de sanguine illo, at Episcopi nunquam. Denique jam octo extiterant ante Celsum viri uxorati, & absque Ordinibus, literati tamen. Inde tota illa per universam Hiberniam de qua multa superius diximus, dissolutio Ecclesiasticae disciplinae, censurae enervatio, religionis evacuatio. *cap. 7.*

solute

solute Laymen, about which the Roman satellites made tragical outcries. What, by the way, will become of us, who are of the ancient Irish race? for the Archbishops of Armagh having been Laymen for so long a time, and all the Clergy deriving their Ordination from them, as its commonly thought; it follows, according to the present High-church doctrine, that, for want of a Succession of rightly ordain'd priests, we are very many of us, with all our Ancestors, unavoidably damn'd. C O R M A C the son of C U L L E N A N, a man of eminent learning and piety, author of *Psalter-Cashel* a chronological work of great authority, and likewise king of Munster in the beginning of the 10th century, was his own Bishop of Cashel (as the C Z A R has lately made himself his own Patriarch) which is not the sole example of this kind in Ireland, tho unknown to those who comment on this verse of VIRGIL,

Rex Anius, Rex idem hominum Phoebique Sacerdos.

The passage I have just now cited from BERNARD'S *life of MALACHIAS*, may be further illustrated by another passage, out of the *Extracts of the Register of the Priory of Saint ANDREWS*, cited by that learned Antiquary Sir JAMES DALRYMPLE: whence it appears, that, at Saint ANDREWS in Scotland, there were ⁶⁶ thirteen marry'd successions of the Culdees; *who*, says the author of these *Extracts*, *liv'd rather according to their own judgement and the traditions of men* (he

66. Cultus ibi religiosus deperierat, sicut gens barbara & inculta fuerat. Habebantur tamen in Ecclesia sancti Andreae, quota & qualis ipsa tunc erat, tredecim per successionem carnalem, quos Kelledeos appellant; qui secundum suam aestimationem, & hominum traditionem, magis quam secundum sanctorum statuta Patrum, vivebant. Sed adhuc similiter vivunt. *Excerpt. ex Registro Priorat. S. Andr. penes doctissimum virum, dominum Rob. Sibbald. Equit.*

shou'd have said the examples of the Gospel) than according to the Statutes of the holy Fathers, and they continue to live so still. Note that this Register ends in the beginning of King DAVID Bruce's reign: but more of these Culdees, or more properly Keldees, before I have done.

XIII.

THE Irish Monks, according to the ancient tho unscriptural institution of such men, were all fed and cloath'd by the labor of their own⁶⁷ hands; those retir'd persons liberally imparting to others, instead of extorting provisions from them: but not living idly and vagrantly, like the begging fryars that came after them, to the scandal of Christianity and the disturbance of the world, to which they are a devouring burthen. Wheras the other Monks before them, and also the secular Priests of Scotland and Ireland, were famous over all the world for their virtue, piety, and learning; but particularly for their Conversions, and the Schools that they founded among the Picts, Anglosaxons, Germans, Burgundians, Switzers, and French: as who has not heard of SEDULIUS, COLUMBA, COLUMBANUS, COLMANNUS, AIDANUS, FURSEUS, KILIANUS, GALLUS, BRENDANUS, CLAUDIUS, CLEMENS, SCOTUS ERIGENA, and numberless others? among whom must not be forgot VIRGILIUS, Bishop of Saltzburg,

67. Qui in Monasteriis degunt, cum silentio operantes, suum panem manducent. *Autor vitae Fursei.* Monachum oportet labore manuum suarum vesci & vestiri. *Autor vitae Brendani.* Alii horum laboraverunt; alii arbores pomiferas excoluerunt. Beatus vero Gallus texebat retia; &, misericordiâ dei cooperante, tantam piscium copiam cepit, ut nunquam fratribus defuissent: quinetiam adventantes peregrinos hujusmodi juvit solatio; & de eodem labore assiduas populo benedictiones exhibuit. *Walafrid. Strab. in vita Galli, l. 1. c. 6.*

in the 8th century; who, having been an excellent philosopher and mathematician (farr above the pitch of the age wherin he liv'd) was barbarously persecuted for maintaining the spherical figure of the earth, and the existence of *Antipodes*; which opinion he was forc'd to recant, before he cou'd get out of prison. This shows what stress is to be laid upon forc'd recantations, when they are even made against mathematical evidence. Neither is it to be forgot, that those ancient Monks were of no order, nor indeed men in Orders at all (as ⁶⁸ J E R O M notes among others) but mere Laymen, out of whom the Clergy were commonly chosen: their Monasteries, and particularly those of the Britons, Irish, and Scots, having been Schools of all good literature; and many of 'em in the nature of Universities, as, to name no more, the British and Irish Bangor, the Scottish I-colum-kill and Abernethy, where were taught History, Philosophy, Theology, with all the liberal Sciences.

TEMPERANCE at all times, and one XIV.
moderate meal a day on special occasions (generally taken late, and about three in the afternoon, particularly on Wednesdays and Fridays in the 7th century) was all the fasting of those Monks; as may be seen among other evidences, by the ⁶⁹ Rule of C O L U M B A N, deserving to be publish'd in English: but not abstinence from certain kinds of

68. Alia Monachorum est causa, alia Clericorum: Clerici pascunt oves, ego pascor. *Epist. ad Heliodor.* Breviter respondeo, me in praesenti opusculo non de Clericis disputare, sed Monachum instituere—Ita ergo age & vive in Monasterio, ut Clericus esse merearis—Si te vel populus, vel pontifex civitatis, in Clerum elegerit; agito quae Cleri sunt, &c. *Epist. ad Rustic.*

69. *Videsis Columbani regulam, praesertim caput ejus quintum, ut & decimum tertium de quotidian. poenitent. Monachor.*

food, while they gormandiz'd and surfeited on others, more dainty, nourishing, and luscious. *The children of wisdom, says 70 CLAUDIUS, do plainly understand; that righteousness consists not either in abstinence or eating: but in patiently bearing hunger when they want, and in temperately feeding when they abound; as well as in seasonably takeing or not takeing those things, wherof not the use but the abuse is blameworthy.* Such accurate language as this they commonly us'd, and not the recommendation of Vigils, or the injunction of Lent, or any other superstitious macerations of this nature: tending to the impairing of health, and, together with frequent holydays, to the manifest obstruction of 71 industry; but not conducing either to piety or probity, not procureing amendment of life or improvement of understanding.

XV. THE Church was esteem'd to be, not a political empire, or an organiz'd society with a proper subordination of officers and subjects; but the congregation of the faithful thro-out the world, whether visible or invisible, and however differing any where in their discipline or modes of worship; as the Irish differ'd among themselves, using their Christian liberty: and *the Sons of the Church* (that I may speak in the words of

70 Ostendens evidenter [*Augustinus citatus a Claudio*] filios sapientiae intelligere, nec in abstinendo, nec in manducando esse justitiam: sed in aequanimitate tolerandi inopiam, & temperantiâ per abundantiam non se corrumpendi; atque opportunè sumendi vel non sumendi ea, quorum non usus, sed concupiscentia, reprehendenda est. *Lib. 2. in Mat.*

71. *The political Lent injoin'd in England for preserving the breed of cattle, appears to have been impolitically enough devis'd by daily experience; there having never been such abundance of cattle bred, as since the non observance of the Acts to this purpose.*

⁷² CLAUDIUS) they held to be all those, who, from the beginning of the world till this time, have attain'd to be just and holy. This is a true and generous account: for the *Communion of Saints* consists in faith and holiness, but not in modes and forms. But so little did these western Latitudinarians imagin the universal Church was infallible, or that any particular Church was indefectible or indefeasible, that they frequently bemoan'd their exorbitant corruptions; complaining that the number of the faithful was sometimes so ⁷³ small, as to be hardly, if at all, discernable.

THEY did not in the least acknowledge the headship of the Roman Church, as may be observ'd beyond all controversy in our first *Section*; and likewise from the *Epistle of Pope GREGORY* the first, in the Year 592, inviting them to ⁷⁴ Catholic unity: as also from the *Epistle of* ⁷⁵ LAURENCE Archbishop of Canterbury and his associates, exhorting, beseeching, and conjuring them, to unite with the Roman, which he

XVI.

72. Ecclesiae filii sunt omnes, ab institutione generis humani usque nunc, quotquot justī & sancti esse potuerunt. *lib. 2. in Mat.*

73. Nonnunquam Ecclesia tantis Gentilium pressuris, non solum afflicta, sed & foedata est; ut, si fieri possit, redemptor ipsius eam prorsus deseruisse ad tempus videretur. *Id. Ibid.* Ecclesia non apparebit, impiis tunc Persecutoribus ultra modum saevientibus, &c. *Id. lib. 3. in Mat.*

74. Unde iterum habitâ locutione, charitatem vestram admo-neo, ut (quoniam, deo suffragante, fidei nostrae integritas in causa trium capitulorum inviolata permansit) mentis tumore deposito, tantò citiùs ad matrem vestram, quae filios suos expectat & invitat, Ecclesiam redeatis; quantò vos ab ea quotidie expectari cognoscitis. *Gregor. Regest. l. 2. Epist. 36.*

75. Scripsit cum Episcopis suis adhortatoriam ad eos Epistolam; obsecrans eos & contestans, unitatem pacis, & Catholicae observationis cum ea, quae toto orbe diffusa est, Christi Ecclesia tenere. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 2. c. 5.*

means

means by the Catholic Church. Neither did they own the supremacy of any other Church on earth, managing all their affairs, both civil and religious, within themselves: but receiving no visitations, palls, indulgences, or any other the like marks of subjection, from the Roman Pontiff, till ⁷⁶ after the tenth and eleventh centuries; yet not refusing to send or receive messages, in case of any transaction with foren Churches. Nor had they any Archbishops (properly so call'd in the Roman sense) till P A P A R O, the Pope's Legat, brought ⁷⁷ four palls to Ireland in the year 1151: the Bishop of Armagh being stil'd by foren or late writers Archbishop, onely out of reverence to the ⁷⁸ seat of P A T R I C, the Apostle of the nation; as others were unwarrantably so stil'd by the same men, tho without any palls or provisions from Rome.

XVII. LASTLY, the so often mention'd ⁷⁹ BERNARD taxes the Irish, with having as many Bishops almost as Churches; and sometimes they had

76. Aegrè satis ferebat [*Malachias*] Hiberniam usque adhuc Pallio caruisse; utpote aemulator sacramentorum, quorum ne uno quolibet gentem suam vellet omnino fraudari. *Bernard. in vita Malach.* Metropoliticae sedis [*Ardmachanae scilicet*] deerat adhuc, & defuerat ab initio, pallii usus. *Id. ibid.*

77. Anno 1151, Papa Eugenius quatuor pallia, per Legatum suum Johannem Papirum, transmisit in Hiberniam, quò nunquam antea Pallium delatum fuerat. *Annal. Melross. pag. 167.* Archiepiscopi vero in Hibernia nulli fuerant, sed tantum se Episcopi invicem consecrabant; donec Johannes Papyrio, Romanae sedis Legatus, non multis retrò annis advenit, &c. *Girald. Cambrenf. Topograph. Hibern. distinct. 3. cap. 17.*

78. Hic [*Gelasius*] primus Archiepiscopus dicitur, quia primo Pallio usus est. Alii verò ante ipsum solo nomine Archiepiscopi & Primates vocabantur, ob reverentiam & honorem Sancti Patricii, tanquam Apostoli illius gentis. *Annal. Hibern. a Camdeno editi: item Casaeus in Chronic. Hibern. ad annum 1174.*

79. Unus Episcopatu uno non esset contentus, sed singulae penè Ecclesiae singulos haberent Episcopos. *In vita Malachiae, c. 7.*

more than one Bishop in one city, nay they had them in villages, as LANFRANC of Canterbury and many others ⁸⁰ assure us. This was but treading in their admir'd PATRIC's steps: who, as ⁸¹ NENNIUS, the most ancient British historian after GILDAS, relates, *founded 365 Churches, and ordain'd 365 Bishops and more (with 3000 Presbyters) in whom was the Spirit of God.* I shall not dispute with any here about the word *Bishop*, which, besides its being an apostolical word, is very significantly us'd by other writers to as many purposes, as *Overseer*, the English of it, can be apply'd: nor shall I deny the convenience, or even the divine right, of many Presbyters having one of their body to preside over them for a time or for life; as there is a chairman among the Justices of a certain district, or as any other assemblies have their president. It matters not, whether such a one (for just causes deposeable) be call'd *Bishop* or *Superintendent*; the first being Greec, and the second Latin for *Overseer*. Whether he be call'd a *Moderator*, I say, or be design'd by any other name of like import, signifies nothing; which ought to take away all scruple against using the word *Bishop*, if it be not preferable to others for being the *Scripture* term. Against such Bishops therefore I have no exception: and such were the Bishops in England at the beginning of the Reformation. But that *Bishop* in Ireland did, in the fifth or sixth centuries (for example) signify a distinct or-

80. Quòd in villis vel civitatibus plures ordinantur. In *Epist. ad Terdelvachum regem Hiberniae*, apud Baron. ad annum 1089: apud Usser. in *Sylloge*: & inter opera Lanfranc.

81. Ecclesias fundavit CCCLXV; ordinavit Episcopos eodem numero, & eo amplius, in quibus spiritus Dei erat, CCCLXV: Presbyteros autem usque ad tres mille ordinavit. *Hist. Brit. cap. 59*: quod & ab aliis quàmplurimis confirmatur; a nobis, cum opus fuerit, adducendis.

CEAL-
LACH.
MAOLIOSA.

der of men, by whom alone Presbyters cou'd be ordain'd, and without which kind of Ordination their ministry were invalid, this I absolutely deny: as I do that those Bishops were Diocesan *Bishops*, when nothing is plainer than that most of 'em had no Bishopricks at all in our modern sense; not to speak of those numerous Bishops frequently going out of Ireland, not call'd to Bishopricks abroad, and many of 'em never prefer'd there. This is a fact none can deny. It was but in the 11th century that the Irish Bishops were reduc'd, by the first Legate they receiv'd from the Pope, to the number of twenty six; and that the Kingdom was parcell'd out into Dioceses, to which those Bishops were severally assign'd and limited. The bringing of this to pass, both for the better preventing of disputes about Jurisdiction, which by that time had been introduc'd, and for the more effectual securing of the Pope's dominion by these his Intendants, was the chief reason of convoking the Synod of Rathbressail, where the Legate above-mention'd, GILBERT Bishop of Limerick, presided; and under him sat CELSUS of Armach, and MALISIUS of Cashel, attended by no fewer than fifty Bishops; which shows to what a different state Episcopacy was then grown from what it was formerly in Ireland, especially in the two first centuries of their Christianity. The right reverend the Bishop of ⁸² Carlisle, to whom all men of Letters are so much indebted, owns, that ⁸³ *the Bishops in Scotland* (which were upon the same foot with those of Ireland) *had anciently no certain and fixt sees; but that every Prelate exer-*

⁸². Now of London-Derry.

⁸³. *Scottish historical Library*, chap. 5. pag. 210.

cis'd his Episcopal office and jurisdiction indiscriminately, in whatever part of the kingdom he chanc'd to be. His Lordship is not pleas'd to tell us, what this jurisdiction cou'd be, of Bishops that had no Dioceses; nor how they cou'd agree, when they met together in one place, where each had equal power. I am certain however there was nothing temporal in this jurisdiction. But tho this be not the place I have design'd for such matters, yet I cannot but wonder, if the power and jurisdiction of the Irish and Albanian Bishops were such as some pretend, that O S W A L D, the Saxon King of Northumberland, shou'd not send to those Bishops for persons to instruct his subjects in the Christian Religion; but that he dispatcht his request for such *to their Elders* (as B E D E ⁸⁴ informs us) whether by these be meant the Elders of their Churches, or the Elders of their People: for King O S W A L D, who liv'd so many years in exile among them, and who there became a Christian, must have been well acquainted with their Diocesan Episcopacy, if any such institution had then existed.

SUCH (MEGALETOR) was the Christianity of the antient Irish; for I look upon the contents of the seventeen paragraphs before-going, to be points, that, without manifest prevarication, will not admit of any valid exception, of any ambiguous construction, or other sophistical evasion. Most of 'em are positive facts, deliver'd by authentic writers: and the rest confirm'd by the irrecusable witness of the Pope's most

84. Misit ad *maiores natu Scottorum*, inter quos exulans ipse Baptistomatis sacramenta, cum his qui secum erant militibus, consecutus erat; petens ut sibi mitteretur Antistes, cujus doctrinâ ac ministerio gens, quam regebat, Anglorum, Dominicæ fidei & dona disceret, & susciperet sacramenta. *Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 3.*

zealous votaries, who frequently declaim'd against them, as so many intolerable abuses. When BERNARD (for example) in the *life of MALACHIAS*, relates his being made Bishop of Connor, he says that ⁸⁵ *he came not to men but to beasts, absolute barbarians, a stubborn, stiffnecked, and ungovernable generation* (you wou'd think it was some Highchurchman railing against Dissenters) *impious, continues he, and abominable, Christians in name, but in reality pagans.* Now, what think you are the grounds of this heavy charge? or what the provocations that put this good *Father* into such a rage? He immediately subjoins them, and they ⁸⁶ are, *that they neither pay'd Tythes nor first-fruit offerings, that they wou'd not be lawfully marry'd* (that is, by the Clergy) *that they refus'd going to Confession; and that neither the Laity wou'd undergo any pennance, nor their Priests impose it, before the blessed alteration* (forsooth) made by MALACHIAS. Such complaints are as valid proofs in their due place, as positive testimonies can possibly be. Besides that it was the common artifice of the Monks, to declaim in the bitterest terms against all men in all countries, who did not blindly receive their doctrines, as wholly dissolute and licentious: till they were reclaim'd, if you believe them, by their powerful preaching; that is, till they became vassals to their Mo-

85. Cùm autem coepisset pro officio suo agere, tunc intellexit homo Dei non ad homines se, sed ad bestias destinatum. Nusquam adhuc tales expertus fuerat, in quantacunque barbarie: nusquam repererat sic protervos ad mores, sic ferales ad ritus, sic ad fidem impios, ad leges barbaros, cervicosos ad disciplinam, spurcos ad vitam; Christiani nomine, re Pagani —

86. Non decimas, non primitias dare, non legitima inire conjugia, non facere confessiones; poenitentias nec qui peteret, nec qui daret penitus inveniri. *In vita Malachiae, cap. 6: quem locum superius etiam adduximus in Notis 51 & 60.*

narch

narch the Pope, and resign'd their understandings to his Janizaries the Priests. But in the discussion of these things, we shall not admit the chimerical and visionary testimonies of legendary authors; who wrote of the matters in question, long after the time wherein they happen'd: and who judg'd of them, or at least transmitted them to others, according to the ideas of their own times; which is a practice no less frequent, than very erroneous and dangerous. One critical rule I shall always observe, as being equally just and necessary, viz. 'neither to conclude from some things amiss in those elder times, that all were so; having the nature of things and undeniable facts to the contrary, not a few superstitions being crept in even from the beginning: nor to infer from some things right in later times, that all things continu'd as right as before, when the contrary is likewise from nature and facts most evident.' Yet so many things remain'd among the Irish, even to the English conquest, opposite to the Religion and Government of Rome (in spite of all the ignorance, bigotry, and barbarity, to which by that time this same Rome had reduc'd them) that Pope ADRIAN the fourth, in his *brief* to King HENRY the second in the year 1154, for encouraging him to undertake that conquest, alleges for his motives in so doing; *the*⁸⁷ *enlarging the bounds of the Church* (which is a very singular expression, if Ireland had been of his Church before) *the declaring the truth of the Christian faith to those un-*

87. Ad dilatandos Ecclesiae terminos, ad declarandum indoctis & rudibus populis Christianae fidei veritatem, & vitiorum plantaria de agro Domini extirpanda. *Apud Baron. ad annum 1159 & apud alios complures, praecipue verò apud Usserium nostrum in Epistolar. Hibernicar. sylloge; & ex autographo apud Rymerum, tom. 1. pag. 15.*

learned and rude people, and the encreasing of the Christian Religion, as well (continues he) as to extirpate the nurseries of vice out of the field of the Lord. Disobedience to the Roman see, especially in public Schools, is reckon'd the greatest of vices; and no virtue allow'd, where there is not absolute subjection profess'd to it. This charge of unfoundness in the faith, JOHN HARDING, an old English poet, thus expresses in the 132d chapter of his *Chronicle*.

*The King HENRY then conquered all Ireland
By Papal dome, there of his Royaltee
The profits and revenues of the land,
The domination, and the soveraigntee,
For errour which against the spiritualtee
They held full long, and would not been correct
Of Heresies, with which they were infect.*

CUMMINN.

SEAGHAN.

But the Pope's real motive, was the tribute of Smoke-mony, or *Peterpence* (as commonly call'd) from every family ⁸⁸ annually; which those people refus'd, and King HENRY promis'd to pay. The Heresy, according to the Irish, was on the Pope's side, the partisans of whose predecessors were by them without ceremony call'd Heretics; as we are inform'd, among others, by ⁸⁹ CUMMIAN, whom we quoted in the first section, and who wrote to SEGIAN of I-columb-kill for the Roman See, in the year 650. Yet this very CUMMIAN, in not daring to condemn the practice of his ancestors, acknowledg'd the novelty

88. Et de singulis domibus annuam unius denarii beato Petro velle solvere pensionem — *Ibid.*

89. Nolite nos Haereticos vocare, &c. *In Epist. ad Segianum Huensem Abbatem, supra citat. in Nota 6.*

in Ireland of the doctrine he had lately espous'd. Our Elders (says ⁹⁰ he) whom you have as a pretence for your opposition, did simply and faithfully, without the blame of any contradiction or animosity, observe what they knew to be best in their days, and did so recommend it to their posterity. I leave it now, Sir, for your self to determin, which were the real Heretics (according to the bad sense of this word) the Romanists or the Irish? or whether any thing can be more preposterous in these last, than to be so mighty fond of the Pope, who together with their Clergy, betray'd the country to the English? Good terms he therefore made for the Clergy, but none at all for the Laity. Besides the privileges of Churches preserv'd inviolable, how unreasonable soever in themselves; all Ecclesiastical lands were ⁹¹ exempted from any manner of service or payment to the public, not contributing a penny towards the support of the Government: which immunity and independency was the bait that made them betray their country, as all Clergymen will do in the like case.

SECTION III.

HAVING had frequent occasion (MEGA-
LETOR) to mention the Scots, a name o- ^{Scut.}
riginally belonging to the Inhabitants of Ireland,

90. Seniores verò (quos in velamine repulsionis habetis) quod optimum in diebus suis esse noverunt, simpliciter & fideliter, sine culpa contradictionis ullius & animositatis, observaverunt, & suis posteris sic mandaverunt. *Ibid.*

91. Jure nimirum Ecclesiarum illibato & integro permanente, & salvâ beato Petro, & sacrosanctae Romanae Ecclesiae, de singulis Domibus annuâ unius denarii pensione. *Adriani Papae Breve, jam citat. in notis 87 & 88.* Ut terrae Ecclesiasticae ab omni secularium exactiōe sint immunes. *Concil. Cassil. can. 4.*

and afterwards communicated to their colonies in the north of Britain and the adjacent Ilands, but in time solely appropriated to these colonies; I shall observe here as a thing certain and incontestable among all writers, that, in ecclesiastical affairs, they were altogether upon the same foot with their Irish progenitors. There were Christians there in T E R T U L L I A N's time, who⁹² mentions them: and whether they were Scots or not, yet that the Scottish Christians had no Diocesan Bishops, till the coming of⁹³ P A L L A D I U S thither in the 5th century, Sir G E O R G E M A C K E N Z I E himself is forc'd to acknowledge, tho he was zealously devoted to Episcopacy. That there were any Diocesan Bishops there, even for 300 years after, I shall be farr from granting to Sir G E O R G E. But he thinks to salve the matter, by making the case extraordinary; and hopes those primitive Presbyters may have been ordain'd the Lord knows where or how (for he no where attempts to prove it) by Diocesan Bishops. Methinks, since one supposition costs no more than another, he needed not to have gone very farr for such ordainers: but lest any shou'd go to Britain first, or to Ireland afterwards; several men of great name, some to serve one purpose and some to serve another, took upon 'em to prove, that, before the beginning of the 5th century, there were no Scots in North-britain at

92. Et Britannorum Romanis, inaccessibleia loca, Christo verò subdita. *Adversus Judaeos, cap. 7.*

93. Palladius ad Scottos in Christum credentes, a Pontifice Romanae Ecclesiae, Coelestino, primus mittitur Episcopus. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 13.* Anno 429, Palladius Episcopus a Coelestino Papa ad Scottos mittebatur, ut eorum fidem confirmaret. *Chronic. Saxon. Missam nunc facio quaestionem, quinam per Scottos hic intelligendi, Scoto-Hiberni nempe vel Scoto-Britanni? anne potius utrique?*

all. Prejudice never display'd its standard more advantageously, than in the discussion of this very point: I mean of ⁹⁴ R E U D A's leading a colony out of Ireland into Scotland, which concerns the succession of our Kings in the first place; and the time of planting Christianity there, which in the second place concerns the succession of our Bishops. These are the points which have driven men out of the high road of truth, to wander in the by-paths of party. I am well satisfy'd, and can satisfy others if it be thought worth while, that (notwithstanding I laugh at the Romance of GATHELUS, SCOTA, SIMON BREAC, and their fellows) the Scots came much earlier out of Ireland, than either STANIHURST, USHER, the two last Bishops of Worcester, or O FLAHERTY, will allow them. Nor am I less convinc'd, that BUCHANAN, Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE, Sir JAMES DALRYMPLE, and others, are mistaken in assigning this illustrious colony too ancient a date: as they are all defective in proving the Regal succession; a thing some of 'em pretend to have had much at heart. Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE is angry with Dr. STILLINGFLEET, Bishop of Worcester, for abridging it; and the Bishop as much displeas'd with the Advocate, for making it in some sort elective. It is most evident out of the ancientest Irish Historians, Bards, and Annalists, that there were colonies very early, and at different times sent, reviv'd, or recruited, out of Ireland into the western Isles,

94. Procedente autem tempore, Britannia, praeter Britones & Pictos, tertiam Scotorum nationem in Pictorum parte recepit; qui, duce Reuda, de Hibernia progressi, vel amicitia vel ferro sibimet inter eos sedes, quas hactenus habent, vindicarunt. *Bed. Hist. Eccles. l. 1. c. 1.*

and the north-west parts of Britain: those books containing particular accounts of the many expeditions made to this purpose, of the battles fought by the Irish to preserve or to regain the dependency of such colonies, and the assistance they often lent them (after they became independent) against the Picts and Britons, or that one Irish King us'd to receive from thence against some other. They were at first govern'd by the leaders of the several colonies, and by their Phylarchs; that is to say, the heads of Clans or Tribes: and afterwards, for their greater union and preserving the common peace, they elected Kings to rule over them; Kings under more limitations than in our days, and not always succeeding in the direct line, tho in the same family. Till the last century, or a very few years before it, these were facts that no approv'd Irish historian ever call'd in question, their records preserving even the originals of the most noted Phylarchs in Scotland: as that the MAC CALLINS (for example) now Dukes of Argyle, are descended from FIACHA CEANANN, son to MAC CON King of Ireland. There are as distinct accounts of the other principal families in the highlands, whether extant or extinct. But tho I cou'd easily evince, that the Scots were settl'd in North-britain long before the year 503; yet I can by means accord to NENNIUS, that they arriv'd there when ⁹⁵ JUNIUS BRUTUS was Consul at Rome. CARBRE RIADHFADA, or LONGICARPUS (the REUDA of BEDE) was the son of CONAR, who reign'd

MAC-
CATHLIN.

LUGHADH
MAC CON,
crown'd an-
no 250.

95. Venerunt ad regiones Dalrieta, in tempore quo regnabat Brutus apud Romanos, a quo Consules esse coeperunt. *Hist. Brit.* c. 9.

chief monarch of Ireland in the beginning of the 3d century: and yet the Argathelian colonies were in a flourishing condition before his arrival, or that of the six sons of MUIREDHACH after him, in Latin call'd MUREDUS. As in this article of migration, so also in other matters of no greater importance, the emulous writers of the last age are widely divided; as both sides are often out by turns in their claims to the famous men and remarkable actions of the Scots and Irish (ambiguous words) each unreasonably, and sometimes childishly, engrossing all to themselves: which occasion'd some of the modern Scottish writers to be stil'd *Hagiokleptæ*, Saint-stealers; among whom DEMPSTER (not a Monk, as the last Bishop of Worcester makes him, but a Lawyer) was the most notorious filcher, yet the readiest of all men to cry *stop thief*. Neither are the Welsh, English, or Irish, freer from this national weakness than their neighbors: and indeed by reason that the inhabitants of Ireland and North-britain were each call'd *Scots*, and that both likewise had the appellation of *Irish*, no less because of their common language than of their origine; it is very difficult, nay sometimes impossible, for a man wholly disengag'd, and onely pursuing historical evidence, precisely to determine, except where circumstances are very plain: for some *criteria* there are, notwithstanding the mists of fable and obscurity. But as to my particular view, it signifies nothing to which country those persons did belong; since the religion of both countries, as likewise of the ancient Britons, is acknowledg'd to have been the very same. In a word, every one of those learned gentlemen I have nam'd a little higher, seem to act, as farr as I can perceive, upon some certain byass or prejudice, not always becoming hi-

Ard nan
Gaidheal,
contractè
Arghael.

Ἅγιος
κλεπτήν.

rians. Yet cou'd I overlook passion in any of them, I wou'd except ⁹⁶ BUCHANAN, who was sway'd by no other partiality but a little too much affection to his countrey; which I grant to be laudable, in the defence of its liberty, but not in the writing of its history. In other things he shows wonderful penetration and judgment; besides that he had the advantage of understanding the ancient Irish (absolutely necessary in these disquisitions) which the greater part of the rest had not. STANIHURST, ⁹⁷ a person of no small abilities, hated the Scots for being Protestants: and so wou'd neither allow them an early beginning nor an early Christianity. The great ⁹⁸ USHER took up the cudgels for his uncle STANIHURST: not on the score of religion, for none was ever a better Protestant, but of family; and from that same overweening prepossession in favor of his country, which we have not approv'd in BUCHANAN. So Doctor LOYD, the late Bishop of ⁹⁹ Worcester, justly fam'd for his skill in Chronology, espous'd the quarrel of ¹ his name-fake, if not kinsman, HUMPHRY LOYD, the first mover of this controversy: who doubtless was not in the right, but not so much in the wrong in everything as BUCHANAN wou'd have him. Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE, tho he was an ornament to the Scottish barr, yet ² wrote with all the unfairness possible against the Bishop (then of Saint ASAPH) to whom that living library Doctor STILLINGFLEET (afterwards Bishop of Wor-

96. *Rerum Scoticarum &c; or, the History of Scotland.*

97. *De Rebus in Hibernia gestis.*

98. *De Britannicarum Ecclesiarum primordiis.*

99. *Historical account of the British Churches.*

¹ *Britannicae Descriptionis fragmentum.*

². *Antiquity of the Royal line of Scotland, first and second parts.*

cester) became a strenuous ³ second: lest, if the Scots of Northbritain were allow'd a Christianity at first without Diocesan Bishops, and that next the Bishops themselves were elected by the *Kel-dees*, vulgarly call'd *Culdees* (a sort of Lay religious wherof by and by) for fear in such a case, I say, that the present Scots might thus have reason to expel their Bishops, which they since have done; as being no less an usurpation upon their old Christianity, than upon their late Reformation. So that rather than Bishops shou'd lose any ground, a great number of Kings, and a considerable body of preceding adventurers, must be struck at one blow out of history. Sir GEORGE MACKENZIE is not more reserv'd to let us into the secret of his writing, which was to complement the late King JAMES, whose line (he says) he thought it his duty, as his Majesty's Advocate-general, to defend; and he truly does it like an Advocate in all respects, making it even Lese-Majesty in others to oppose it by the least abridgment. It wou'd not be making his court, he thought, any way to curtail the long catalogue of the King's Ancestors, how much soever he admir'd Bishops: but he also thought it wou'd be as little ingratiating himself by deriving those Princes from any subject of Ireland, tho not able to deny that they had originally issu'd from thence; but however (according to him) a long time before those of that country allow it, as if sooner or later signify'd any thing in this argument, with regard to true honor. He's nevertheless as much in the right, in respect of the main fact, the antiquity of the Scots in Britain; as the industrious ⁴ Mr. OFLAHERTY, out of complaisance per-

³. Origines Britannicae, &c.

⁴. Ogygia, or the History of Ireland.

P H L E A -
D H A N.

Part 2, pag.
169.

haps to some of his Patrons, is unquestionably in the wrong. But Sir G E O R G E was not master of history enough (whatever his admirers may fancy) to prove his point, where it was capable of the highest evidence; nor, without the help of the Irish Bards, can the Scottish antiquities be ever clear'd. He did not go by the rule of *it was so*, but *it shou'd be so*; because, as he declares his opinion, it was more honorable for the King to be descended from those he assigns for his progenitors, than from such as others had nam'd; and therefore desires the reader to judge, who does the King greater honor, Dr. S T I L L I N G - F L E E T in making him descend from a petty subject; or the Scottish historians, who derive him from an uninterrupted series of absolute Monarchs. But is this to write history? are we to sacrifice truth to imaginary honor? or was each of King J A M E S's ancestors an actual Monarch, be his genealogy what you please? C A R B R E R I A D H A was of the Royal family, and not a mere Dynast of Ulster, as he erroneously calls him: but supposing him not of the regal stock, yet he was farr superior in rank and fame, even in his own account of him, to F L E A N C E the son of B A N C H O, who is made the first of the S T U - A R T's race. But to show an example in the Advocate-general, how farr the humor of flattering the great, or over-rating their country, will carry men; I shall lay before you, Sir, an expedient no less admirable than diverting, on which he has sagaciously hit for supporting his pretences. He says he *cannot but regret, that the Irish shou'd mistake so farr their own interest; as to suffer, or furnish their histories, to overturn the credibility of the Scottish histories.* What! not furnish 'em, if they have such? or not suffer 'em, if they are true? Since (continues he) *because we acknowledge our*
selves

selves to have come last from Ireland, it were our common interest to unite together, and sustain one another's antiquities. Tis well he's no Irishman that speaks at this rate, or we shou'd quickly hear of his understanding. But takeing my leave of this otherwise very ingenious man, the honorable Sir JAMES DALRYMPLE has visibly back'd him; not so much on behalf of the Royal line, as for the antiquity of the nation, and on behalf of the Culdees. This last point he has made so evident from incontestable authorities of Historians, Registers, and Charters, mentioning many of their lands and their Churches; that Bishop LOYD will be justly condemn'd for haveing asserted the Culdees to be *a monkish dream*, as he pag. 121. will be further so, for making the word *Keldee* to signify *a house of Cells*: and Bishop STIL- pag. 138. LINGFLEET must be content to bear him company, who fancies that from *Kilrule* or *Kilrimont* (now saint Andrews) the Clergy were call'd *Kile-* Pref. p. 56. *dei*; from which title, says he, *the fiction of the ancient Culdees came.* This conceit does, in spite of the analogy of the language and abundance of facts, suppose there were no Culdees elsewhere in Scotland, the contrary wherof is demonstrable: nor, unhappily for his Criticism, were they ever call'd *Kiledei* (which is a fiction of his own) but constantly *Keledei*, from the original Irish or ancient Scottish word *Ceile-de*, signifying *separated or espous'd to God*; these having been likewise very numerous in Ireland, and in all the Irish writings invariably known by this name. From *Ceile-de* many of the Latin writers made *Colidei* in the plural number; and others, who did not understand this word, did from the mere sound (like

C in Irish is
ever pro-
nounc'd like
K or Q.

our two great Bishop's derivations) interpret it *Cultores Dei*, whence the modern word *Culdees*, tho it be *Keldees* and *Kelledei* in all the ancient Scottish writings. *Ceile-de*, both name and thing, cannot be deny'd by any man, who's tolerably vers'd in the language of the Irish or in their books; one of which, a *Chronicle* mostly in verse entitul'd *Psalter Na'rran*, was written by a Keldee, AONGHUS *Ceile-de*, Latiniz'd ÆNEAS COLIDEUS, about the year 800. I can produce, if there be occasion, several evidences about these Keldees, anterior to those helps with which Sir JAMES DALRYMPLE has plentifully furnish'd me: tho many more might be offer'd by others (as I doubt not some will in time appear) had not such numbers of Irish books and records been carry'd beyond the seas at the Reformation, and even before; where they ly perishing in Libraries, being useless as well as unintelligible in those countries. We need not a better example of this, than the very book of the *four Gospels* which has occasion'd you to be trobl'd with this *Dissertation*. The Keldees were commonly Laymen, and marry'd as I noted ⁶ before; but, like *Bishop* and *Monk*, the word remain'd the same, after the Ideas were chang'd with the condition of the men. But, it seems, no change cou'd prevent the extinction of the Keldees. They had the right of chusing their Prior or President out of their own body, as the Church in those parts was long govern'd by Presbyters, after the example of the ancient ⁷ Alexandrian Church; where

6. In Nota 66.

7. Alexandræ a Marco Evangelista, usque ad Heraclam & Dionysium Episcopos, Presbyteri semper unum ex se electum, in excelsiori gradu collocatum, Episcopum nominabant. Hieronym. Epist. ad Evagrium, ut nihil de Eutychio aliisque dicam.

the Presbyters chose one from among themselves, to be their Bishop or Superintendent: a form of Government not scrupl'd by the Scots at the Reformation, and which, if that were all, they wou'd make no difficulty of admitting now. JOHN FORDUN therefore had reason to affirm so many centuries since, that ⁸ *the Scots had, before the coming of PALLADIUS, onely Presbyters or Monks for teachers of the faith, and Ministers of the Sacraments, following herein the usage of the Primitive Church.* Thus did the famous COLUMBA, who, coming out of Ireland to convert the Northern Picts in the year 565, and founding a Monastery in the Iland from him call'd ⁹ *I-colum-cille*, establish the self-same kind of order in the Church there. *That Iland*, says ¹⁰ BEDE in the 7th century, *is wont to have a Presbyter Abbat, to whose government both the whole Province, and even the Bishops themselves are to be subject in an unusual manner* (with regard, he means, to the practice of his time in England) *after the example of their first teacher; who was not a Bishop, but a Presbyter and a Monk.* To the same purpose, and for the same reason the

8. Ante cujus [Palladii] adventum, habebant Scoti fidei doctores, ac Sacramentorum ministratores, Presbyteros solummodò vel Monachos, ritum sequentes Ecclesiae Primitivae. *Scotichronic. l. 3. c. 8.*

9. *That is, COLUMKILL's Iland; for I, pronounc'd as the French and other Foreners do this Letter, signifies in Irish an Iland, as Inis likewise does. The name of this Iland is often written HII, II, HU, to avoid making a word of one Letter: and COLUMBA is call'd by BEDE, NENNIUS, and others, COLUMBA-CELLI, COLUMKILLUS, or COLUMBA CELLAE; as by the Irish, and Scots Highlanders, be's to this day call'd COLUIM-CILLE. This Iland goes likewise under the name of JONA, and lies near the greater Iland of MULL.*

10. Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper Abbatem Presbyterum, cujus juri & omnis provincia, & ipsi etiam Episcopi, ordine inusitato, debeant esse subjecti; juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non Episcopus, sed Presbyter extitit & Monachus. *Hist. Eccles. l. 3. c. 5.*

Saxon Chronicle ¹¹ says, that *all the Scottish Bishops are to be subject to the Abbat of Hy.* Then, to be sure, they were no Diocesans. But after the Pope had got firm footing in Scotland, and that the country was parcell'd out by his order into Dioceses (most of which are of very late erection) the Keldees were discountenanc'd and suppress'd by degrees, and Canons regular plac'd in their room. I confine my discourse to the Scots Keldees onely: for as to the Keldees of Armagh, Tipperary, or Cluanish in Ireland, or as to those of Bardsey in Wales, or any where else, mention'd by others or not; I have nothing at this time to say, whatever I may do hereafter. The right of electing Bishops, so long enjoy'd, was forcibly taken at last from the Scots Keldees: and, the sooner to effect the change that ensu'd, their Priors were commonly gain'd by making them Bishops, as the chief among the rest were preferr'd to regular Abacies. Thus ALEXANDER MYLN, Prebendary and Official of Dunkel, in his account of the Bishops of that See, tells us, ¹² that CONSTANTINE the third, King of the Piets, did, in the year 729, erect the Monastery of Dunkel, in which he plac'd religious men by the vulgar call'd Keldees; who nevertheless, after the usage of the eastern

11. Deinceps perpetuus in Ii Abbas erit, non autem Episcopus; atque ei debent esse subditi omnes Scotorum Episcopi, propterea quòd Columbanus [*rectius* Columba] fuerit Abbas, non Episcopus.

12. In quo quidem Monasterio imposuit viros religiosos, quos nominat vulgus Kelledeos, aliter Colideos (hoc est, colentes Deum) habentes tamen, secundum Orientalis Ecclesiae ritum, conjuges; a quibus, dum vicissim ministrarunt, abstinebant—David, mutato Monasterio, in Ecclesiam Cathedralem erexit; & repudiatis Kelledeis, Episcopum & Canonicos instituit, Seculareque Collegium in futurum esse ordinavit, circa annos Domini 1127. MS. in *Biblioth. Icc. Edinburg.* & a Jacobo Dalrymple Baronetto citat.

Church, had wives, from whom they abstain'd, when it came to their turn to minister. But King DAVID, says he, did, about the year of the Lord 1127, change this Monastery into a Cathedral church; and having cast out the Keldees, appointed a Bishop and Canons, ordering it to be a secular Colledge for the future. Accordingly the Keldean Abbat was made the first Bishop of that see: and from hence it appears, that the Culdees were not Canons; which is another subterfuge, to which some have had recourse. Nor was it an easy matter, to extirpate the Keldees out of Saint ANDREWS; who at last were reduc'd to ¹³ perform their worship in their own way, in a corner of the Church once theirs. The Keldees of Loch-levin (not to mention those of Brechen, Dumblane, Monymusk, or others) were some of the last left in Scotland. And I cannot help saying on this occasion, that some other method of defending Diocesan Episcopacy (if it can at all be defended) had much better become the two late learned Bishops of Worcester, than to draw their pens against clear matters of fact; the Keldees being already sufficiently prov'd, neither to have been a dream nor a fiction. Yet the present Bishop of Carlisle calls Dr. LOYD's ¹⁴ book, *an undertaking becoming a Bishop of our English Church*; and says his aim in it was, the encountring an objection against the order of Episcopacy, from the story of the Culdees: an argument put into the mouths of our Schismatics by BLONDEL and SELDEN, out of the abundant kindness they had for our establishment. I must take the liberty with his Lordship to affirm, that

13. Nec ibi Missa celebratur, nisi cum rex vel Episcopus illò advenerat: Keldei namque in angulo quodam Ecclesiae, quae modica nimis erat, suum Officium suo more celebrabant. *Excerpt. ex Registro Priorat. S. Andr. antea citat. in Nota 66.*

14. *English Historical Library, part 2. page 93.*

many of the Scottish writers made use of this argument, long before SELDEN or BLONDEL cou'd write books. I wish, when he wrote *the Scottish Historical Library*, he had given us a more particular account of so considerable a piece as *the Excerpts out of the Chartulary of the Priory of St. Andrews*, than barely to ^{us} say, *that there are such Extracts*: since it is a record, that so frequently makes mention of the Keldees, of their long continuance in the Scottish Church, and of their suppression at last by Diocesan Bishops; which still further demonstrates, that they were farr from being a monkish dream, as LOYD the Bishop of Worcester, who from a Presbyter made FORDUN a Monk, has groundlessly advanc'd. They might, in my opinion, have all gone to work in another way, not onely fairer, but likewise more safe and reputable; I mean by putting the cause of Diocesan Episcopacy upon the bottom either of divine institution, or of the greatest humane convenience: but not upon facts, which if all true in the sense they wou'd have them (as tis most evident they are not) yet they wou'd make nothing in the world to their purpose. For the most curious enquirers into the histories of Ireland and Scotland, will not, if they reason as they ought, ground their Religion upon what has or has not past there; but upon what is right and true, upon what is instructive and beneficial. Truth is not confin'd to any country, nor Reason its peculiar growth; these being invariably the same, whatever country rejects or receives, practises or neglects them: and tho I may love a nation for the sake of the Sciences or the Virtues, that flourish'd in it, as the Greeks (for example) and the

Romans; yet I neither love Knowledge nor Religion on the score of any nation, but for their own intrinsic worth and value. You may therefore conclude, that it is not out of any fondness for my country, that I approve, where I have not hinted the contrary, the SUMMARY OF RELIGION contain'd in the second Section of this *Letter*: but purely as it is agreeable to *Scripture* and Reason, whether my countrymen had ever receiv'd it or not. You'll pardon, Sir, my stepping from the mother to the daughter, or the natural transition I made above from the Irish to the Scottish Antiquities, concerning which I have collected not a few observations: having begun my Academic studies in the University of Glasco, and taken my degree in that of Edinburgh, before I went to Leyden, for which places I shall ever preserve a grateful respect. This is what you know I shall never want towards your self: wherefore, I am, Sir, &c.

J. TOLAND.

F I N I S.

L

I have been thinking of you very much lately, and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but I have managed to find some time to write to you. I have been thinking of you very much lately, and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but I have managed to find some time to write to you. I have been thinking of you very much lately, and wondering how you are getting on. I hope you are well and happy. I have been very busy lately, but I have managed to find some time to write to you.

J. TOLAND.

W. W. W. E. W. 2

APPENDIX.

CONTAINING

I. Two PROBLEMS, historical, political, and theological, concerning the JEWISH NATION and RELIGION.

II. A further account of the MAHOMETAN GOSPEL OF BARNABAS, by Monsieur DE LA MONNOYE of the French Academy.

III. QUERIES fit to be sent to any curious and intelligent Christians, residing or travelling in Mahometan Countries; with proper directions and cautions in order to procure satisfactory answers.



LONDON: Printed in the YEAR 1718.

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I.
T W O
P R O B L E M S
C O N C E R N I N G
The Jewish Nation and Religion.

Et eris mihi magnus Apollo.

Virg.



YOU know (Sir) that I have promis'd those, for whom I have the greatest deference, a **R E S P U B L I C A M O S A I C A**, or **T H E C O M M O N W E A L T H O F M O S E S**, which I admire infinitely, above all the forms of Government, that ever yet existed: whether at any time in actual exercise, as those of the Spartans and Romans of old, and now that of the Venetians; or subsisting onely in idea, as the *Atlantis* of **P L A T O**, Sir **T H O M A S M O R E**'s *Utopia*, and such like. Neither my other friends at the Waters, nor even

you, were tolerably satisfy'd with SIGONIUS, or CUNEUS, or with any one of those, who have written on this subject: and I can now gladly tell you, my materials are in such a readiness; that one half year, free from all other business, wou'd be sufficient for me to form and finish the whole work. You well remember, that I maintain the Plan given by MOSES, never to have been wholly, nor indeed in any degree of perfection, establish'd in Judea: and that if it once had, it cou'd never have been afterwards destroy'd, either by the internal sedition of subjects, or the external violence of enemies, but shou'd have lasted as long as mankind; which is to make *a Government immortal*, tho it be reckon'd one of the things in nature the most subject to revolutions. But I have not told you, whether I founded this immutability on any promise and miraculous concurrence of God; or on the intrinsic nature and constitution of the form it self, be its original what you please. But something there is, of which at this day we are eye and ear-witnesses, which seems to be no small confirmation of my assertion, tho not giving the reasons of the same: for notwithstanding the MOSAIC plan was never wholly executed, and that the imperfect imitation of it, under various denominations, is long since destroy'd; yet the Jews continue still a distinct people from all others, both as to their race and religion. Tho you cannot disagree with me about the fact, yet I suspect your reasons for this phenomenon (if I may so call it) will be very different from mine, which however can make no difference in our affections. I never love to dispute, but am ever ready to learn. In order therefore to receive better information from you, and such others as know more than my self, I take the liberty of offering to your consideration the two following Problems.

Problems. There is yet a third behind, which wou'd be needless to produce, till an answer be given to these; wherof it is a most natural consequence on the one hand (I mean as the solution happens to be given) but quite the contrary on the other: for no wise man will admit of CHANCE for a real mean between REASON and REVELATION, consider'd as two extremes. I observe this the rather, because, tho there be nothing more evident, than that Chance signifies with men of sense, an effect wherof the cause is unknown or unforeseen; yet a world of people mean by Chance, an effect that has no cause at all: and so they gravely pronounce concerning some of the most remarkable Phenomena in nature, that they happen (forsooth) by Chance; as if in reality any effect cou'd possibly be without a cause, or that this cause cou'd be without another cause as regularly producing it, or finally that there were no causes where we do'nt immediately and directly perceive 'em.

FIRST PROBLEM.

WHETHER, without having recourse to miracles, or to promises drawn from the *Old Testament* (which is the same thing, if you don't take those promises for wise foresight) it can be demonstrated by the intrinsic constitution of the Government or Religion of the Jews, how, after the total subversion of their State for almost seventeen hundred years, and after the dispersion of their nation over the whole habitable earth; being neither favor'd nor supported by any potentate, but rather expos'd to the content and hatred of all the world: they have nevertheless preserv'd themselves a distinct people with all their ancient rites, excepting a very small number of

ceremonies, they were necessarily injoin'd to practise within the bounds of Judea, and which they are no longer permitted to do? while that in the mean time the Institutions of the Egyptians, Babylonians, Greeks, and Romans (nations that were much more powerful) are long ago entirely abolish'd, and brought to nothing: and that the names only of certain celebrated Religions subsist yet in history; without even so much as the names remaining of some other worships, that doubtless were neither less believ'd, nor less extended.

SECOND PROBLEM.

WHETHER a sufficient reason can be assign'd, drawn from the nature and frame of the Jewish Republic or Religion (without alledging miracles, or promises not accounted miraculous, as aforesaid) why, during the time that they were the independent Lords of their own country, and that their Government subsisted in a flourishing condition; they were perpetually inclin'd to the most gross idolatries, always in suspense whether they shou'd follow BAAL or JEHOVAH, and having a strong propensity to mix or marry with the women of other nations, contrary to their fundamental Laws? whereas, since their actual dispersion among these same nations, they are obstinately careful to keep their race entire, without corruption or mixture: and that, notwithstanding the most agreeable temptations or the most exquisite tortures, they abhor beyond all expression Idolatry of every kind; but particularly the adoration of dead men (from which they are evidently exempt) as they are surprizingly uniform in their worship and doctrine, which is not deny'd by any body.

I HAVE made use (Sir) of more words perhaps than were necessary, in expressing these Problems:

blems: but it was to avoid all sorts of ambiguity, perplexity, or obscurity. Tis indifferent to me, whether another be diffuse or concise in his answer, provided he speaks directly to the subject in question: and that he does not amuze himself with glozing, or vending of allegories, and forcing of allusions; which will neither give satisfaction to me, nor to any other whatsoever. Certainly the cause of these effects must needs be, either the constitution of the Government, which any body that says so ought to show; or a particular providence, which must be likewise prov'd; or a concurrence of both these, where the distinction shou'd be very clear; or lastly mere chance, which is absurd. For the rest, the Jews, the Christians, and the Deists, are equally interested to clear this matter. The Atheists (if any such there be?) have nothing to do herein. But the Heathens, the Mahometans, and, in one word, all those who believe a divine Revelation of any sort, must be necessarily determin'd (as to right, whatever may happen in fact) by the true solution, from what hand soever it comes. I am not a stranger to what is so voluminously discours'd on the subject of the first Problem, in the common systems, which never take notice of the second: but a more satisfactory explication is still expected, which perhaps may appear in a better light by it self; while the multitude of other subjects is apt to confound ideas in a general system, if not unavoidably to withdraw the attention. A letter on this subject therefore I expect from your self, or from any body else by your means, in communicating my demand; that if I

1. Shou'd any be willing to write, but not to print his thoughts on this subject, if he directs his Letter to be left for me at Mr. ROBERTS in Warwick-lane, I shall do him all possible justice.

happen

happen to be guilty of any mistakes in the MOSAIC REPUBLIC, they may not be afterwards imputed to sufficiency, or want of asking advice.

I AM aware (my friend) that *the Immortality of a Commonwealth* is not honor'd by you so farr, as to be reckon'd a paradox in politics, but an egregious absurdity in nature: and you must excuse me, if I be at no pains to convince you, till the REPUBLICA MOSAICA appears. Yet it will not be amiss in the mean time to shew you, that this whim (as you often call it) of *the Immortality of a Government*, was not originally HARRINGTON's; who indeed dreamt some such thing about the *Republic of Venice*, and who has the most excellent father PAUL on his side: but that what I now particularly apply to the model deliver'd by MOSES, and to which onely it can be apply'd, was many hundred years ago the notion which a consummate statesman, no less celebrated for practice than speculation, had of framing a Government in general; and this opinion he declar'd in a book, which he expressly wrote concerning the best kind of Government, when he himself sat at the helm. I mean CICERO and his six books *de Republica*, or *de optimo statu Civitatis* & *de optimo Cive*, which are all lost, a few fragments excepted. The words I am now going to transcribe, are preserv'd by AUGUSTIN, in the 6th chapter of his 22d book *de Civitate Dei*. A Government, says ² TULLY, ought

2. Debet enim constituta sic esse Civitas, ut AETERNA sit: itaque nullus interitus est Reipublicae naturalis, ut homini; in quo mors non modo necessaria est, verum etiam optanda per saepe. Civitas autem cum tollitur, deletur, extinguitur, simile est quodammodo (ut magnis parva conferamus) ac si omnis hic mundus intereat ac concidat, *Ex libro tertio de Republica.*

to be so constituted, as to be of ETERNAL DURATION: and for this reason it is, that no kind of dissolution is natural to a Government, as to a man; to whom death is not onely unavoidable, but also very often desirable. But when a Government is overturn'd, ruin'd, and quite extinguish'd, tis in some sort (that we may compare great things with small) as if this whole world shou'd fall to pieces, and be for ever destroy'd. For as the corruption of ever-generating individuals neither lessens the matter, nor disorders the form of the world, but on the contrary perpetuates it: so the species of mankind, which is the matter of Government, ever continuing; if such a temperament (as C I C E R O somewhere calls it) or such a libration (as H A R R I N G T O N) be fixt in the form, as to make it proof against all internal division and external force, that Government will consequently be immortal. Such was the language of P L A T O and A R I S T O T L E long before.

H A V I N G therefore thus clear'd Father P A U L, and H A R R I N G T O N, and my self, I am willing C I C E R O shou'd patiently bear the imputation of having broach'd a whimsical absurdity, till I have time and leisure enough to produce M O S E S in his vindication; who will not give you bare authorities, but unanswerable reasons. They, who believe this form of Government was immediately reveal'd to M O S E S from heaven on mount Sinai, cannot but be well-pleas'd with me, for showing it to be much more excellent and perfect, and consequently more worthy of God; than those have hitherto esteem'd it, who in all their books (not one Christian system excepted) complain of its insufficiency and manifold imperfections: and they, who, with S T R A B O and D I O D O R U S S I C U L U S, make

make it to be purely his own contrivance (but father'd upon God, to procure it the easier reception and the greater veneration) will be oblig'd however for the future, to allow MOSES a rank in the politics farr superior to SALEUCUS, CHARONDAS, SOLON, LYCURGUS, ROMULUS, NUMA, or any other Legislator.

NOW if you'll suppose with me (till my proofs appear) this pre-eminence and immortality of the MOSAIC REPUBLIC in its original purity, it will follow; that, as the Jews known at this day, and who are dispers'd over Europe, Asia, and Africa, with some few in America, are found by good calculation to be more numerous than either the Spaniards (for example) or the French: so if they ever happen to be resettl'd in Palestine upon their original foundation, which is not at all impossible; they will then, by reason of their excellent constitution, be much more populous, rich, and powerful than any other nation now in the world. I wou'd have you consider, whether it be not both the interest and duty of Christians to assist them in regaining their country. But more of this when we meet. I am with as much respect as friendship (dear Sir) ever yours,

Hague, 17¹⁶/₁₀9.

J. T.



II.

A further account of the MAHOMETAN GOSPEL OF BARNABAS, by Monsieur DE LA MONNOYE of the French Academy; out of the Menagiana, Edit. Amst. tom. 4. pag. 321.

 HE Baron DE HOHENDORF, a German Lord, who, to a birth of the first rank, has added exquisite literature, nice politics, and a very extensive knowledge of books, did me the favor to show me the GOSPEL father'd by the Turks upon BARNABAS; translated into Italian (in all likelihood from the Arabic) about the middle of the fifteenth Century, and copy'd a little while after. 'Tis at this day the onely manuscript of its * kind, or at least a very rare one; and belongs to Prince EUGENE, whose search after all sorts of curious books is without any bounds. 'Tis an Octavo volum six inches long, four broad, and one and a half thick, and containing 229 leaves, the full pages haveing about 18 or 19 lines, enclos'd within four red rules. In the margin, over-against certain passages underlin'd in the Text, there are some Arabic citations very well written, and relative to some verses of the *Alcoran*. The transcriber intended

* He must mean the onely one in Christendom, or he contradicts himself: and so must Monsieur CRAMER have meant, who knew nothing of the age or value of this book, but what I told him.

to write in red letters all the Arguments of the Chapters, which are in number 221: but he went no further than the 27th, which he misfigur'd the 26th, contenting himself with leaving void spaces for filling up the rest. The paper is of a good body, and made of polisht cotton. On a leaf in the beginning of the book is now written the following Inscription in Latin.

SERENISSIMO SABAUDIAE PRINCIPI

Eugenio,

Heroi invicto, Musarum Herculi,

Hoc Evangelium Mahumedanum, quod BARNABAE nomen prae se fert, in Italicum sermonem, compluribus abhinc seculis, uti characteris ductus & vetustae orthographiae ratio ostendit, conversum: quod Evangelium sive Arabicè, sive aliâ lingua, & si quis conjecturae locus est, a Sergio Monacho Nestoriano, uno e tribus illis ALCORANI architectis, compositum, adhuc videre nemini Christianorum licuit; quamvis hi illud perquirere & inspicere omni ope niterentur, ut tandem ejusmodi Evangelium, quo Mahomedani tantopere gloriantur, ne existere quidem suspicari coeperint: hunc, inquam, codicem, manu satis eleganti exaratum, & sicuti constat, unicum, ut esset Bibliothecae, quam PRINCEPS INCOMPARABILIS libris rarissimis, seu typis seu manu descriptis refertissimam, construendam suscepit, non postremum ornamentum; & simul suae in immortale MAXIMI HEROIS nomen perpetuae observantiae, pietatis, devotissimi pectoris, quaecunque monumentum:

L. M. Q. D. D. D.

JOANNES FREDERICUS CRAMERUS.

Hagae-Comitis

a. d. xx. Junii, CIOIOCCXIII.

The

THE orthography of this manuscript is remarkable for its irregularities. The Consonants are often double, where they ought to be single; and single, on the contrary, where they shou'd have been double. One word is divided into two, and two again are join'd into * one. Tis every where stuff'd with superfluous and vicious Aspirations, such as were affected by ARRIUS in CATULLUS. There's no distinction of Capitals: but a very odd punctuation, consisting onely in certain large red points, plac'd for the most part by mere chance. *Elgi, molgie, filgio, pilgiare*, are put for *Egli, moglie, figlio, pigliare*. *Scatiar* is put for *scacciar*, *scernir* and *scerno* for *schernir* and *scherno*, *piaze* for *piace*, and such other corruptions without number; which ought to be look'd upon, rather as indications of the ignorance and bad pronounciation of the Copyer, than of the † antiquity of the Writeing. The Pages are markt by Arabic figures, form'd in this manner: 1 one, 2 two, 3 three, 4 four, 5 five, 6 six, 7 seven, 8 eight, 9 nine, 10 ten; after which the figures are thus combin'd, 11 eleven, 12 twelve, and so on. The writeing, as I have observ'd already, is about the year 1470 or 1480, the time when Transcribers begun to put a dot or tittle over the letter i, which has been very exactly follow'd in the manuscript, wherof we are now speaking. The word *Dio*, or God, is out of respect always written in red letters. The Turks oppose this GOSPEL, as the onely true ‡ one,

* A thing very common in the oldest Italian Manuscripts, and in their first printed books.

† They are no less indications of the one than of the other, as must needs be apparent to any one that's vers'd in Italian Manuscripts.

‡ I durst not be so positive, nor do I see any ground why Monsieur DE LA MONNOYE shou'd be so, which is the reason of the Queries I subjoin.

to our four. BARNABAS, who affirms that he was commanded to write it, is represented as an Apostle, not onely well known to JESUS and the VIRGIN; but also better instructed than PAUL, concerning the importance of Circumcision, and the use of such Meats as were permitted or prohibited the faithful. You learn in the same, that the infernal torments of the Mahometans are not to be everlasting. JESUS CHRIST is therein but barely stil'd a Prophet: and tis said, that the moment the Jews were makeing ready to go and seize him in the garden of Olives, he was taken up into the third heaven by the ministry of four angels, GABRIEL, MICHAEL, RAPHAEL, and URIEL: that he shall not dy till the very end of the world, and that it was JUDAS who was crucify'd in his stead; God permitting that this Traytor shou'd appear to the eyes of the Jews so like to JESUS, that they took him for him, and as such deliver'd him over to PILATE. Tis said further, that this resemblance was so great, that every one was deceiv'd by it, without excepting the Virgin MARY and the Apostles; but that afterwards JESUS had obtain'd permission from God, to come and comfort them: and that BARNABAS haveing then ask'd him the question, how the divine goodness cou'd suffer that the Mother and Disciples of so holy a Prophet shou'd believe, even for one moment, that he suffer'd so ignominious a death, the following * answer is made by JESUS. O BARNABAS,

* Risposse Iesu ho Barnaba chredimi che ogni pechato per picchollo che sia Dio il punisse chon pena grande. essendoche Dio he offesso nel pechato onde ammandomi la mia madre he li fidelli con miei dissepoli uno pocho di ammore terreno. il iusto Dio ha voluto punire questo ammore chon il pressente dolore azioche sia non punito nelle fiammi infernalli. he me che innocente sonstato nel

N A B A S, believe me that every sin, how small soever, is punish'd by God with great torment, because God is offended with sin. My mother therefore and my faithful disciples, haveing lov'd me with a mixture of earthly love, the just God has been pleas'd to punish this love with their present grief, that they might not be punisht for it hereafter in the flames of Hell. And as for me, tho I have my self been blameless in the World, yet other men haveing call'd me God, and the Son of God; therefore God, that I might not be mock'd by the Devils at the day of Judgement, has been pleas'd that in this world I shou'd be mock'd by men with the death of J U D A S, makeing every body believe that I dy'd upon the Cross. And hence it is, that this mocking is still to continue on till the comeing of M A H O M E T, the Sent of God; who, comeing into the World, will from this error undeceive every one, that shall believe the Law of * God.

nel mondo havendomi li homeni chiamato dio he fiollo di dio. dio per non far mi scernire dalli demonii il giorno de il juditio. ha volluto che io sia scernito dali homeni nel monddo chon la morte di iuda facendo chredere ad ogniuno che io sia morto su la chroce onde questo scerno durera insino alla venuta di Machometo nontio di dio. il quale venendo al mondo sganera ogniuno che chrederano alla legie di dio di questo ingano.

* In the passages which I have quoted my self out of this Gospel, tho I preserv'd the vicious Orthography, yet, to be the better understood, I pointed them as they shou'd be: but in this passage, transcrib'd by Monsieur DE LA MONNOYE, I have exhibited the Punctuation such as he gave it, as a specimen of the rest of the book.



III.

QUERIES *to be sent to Christians* *residing in MAHOMETAN Countries.*

I.

SINCE we find in all the books of the Mahometans, that they believe the LAW was deliver'd from Heaven to MOSES, the PSALMS to DAVID, and the GOSPEL to JESUS, as well as the ALCORAN to MAHOMET; you are to enquire and take due information, whether at this time the Musulmans have a *Pentateuch*, *Psalms*, or *Gospel* of their own, and how farr agreeing or disagreeing with those of the Jews and Christians? whether they sing any of DAVID's *Psalms* in their public Service, or read any portions of the *Pentateuch*?

II.

SINCE we find moreover, that they charge our *Gospels* with corruption and alteration in many things, and particularly that MAHOMET's name was raz'd out of 'em, as likewise out of the *Peutateuch*, and the *Psalms*; you are to enquire of the most learned, judicious, and candid among 'em, how they can prove such Expunctions or Interpolations, if they have no authentic Copies to confront with ours? or, in case they pretend to have such Copies, you are further to enquire, what use they make of 'em? whether any part of their

their *Gospel* be ever read in their Moschs? or whether it is to be perus'd onely by the Clergy and the Learned?

III.

YOU are particularly desir'd to enquire after the GOSPEL OF BARNABAS: for such a book is in the possession of his most serene Highness Prince EUGENE of Savoy, and was undoubtedly written (I do'nt mean wholly compil'd) by a profest Mahometan; as the Summaries of the Chapters, and the Arabic Notes on the margin of the Italian Translation, are the work of a zealous adversary to Christianity. And if you shou'd happen to meet with this book, you are diligently to enquire, whether they acknowledge it as divine, whether it be the onely *Gospel* they admit? or, in case they have any more of this kind, which are Apocryphal, and which authentic, in their account?

IV.

SINCE we find the Mahometans, in all their writings, asserting that other books, besides the four already mention'd, were divinely inspir'd, or sent from heaven to their reputed Authors; namely, ADAM, SETH, ENOCH, ABRAHAM, and more such Patriarchs and Prophets: you are to enquire if now they either have, or pretend to have, any such books among 'em? or, in case they have not (as I think they fairly own) then by what arguments they wou'd prove, that ever any such existed? For, I suppose, they lay no stress on the numerous books of this sort, that have been forg'd by the Jews and Christians; tho, if the Mahometans have any of their own, I take 'em to be some of the Apocryphal Jewish or Christian books interpolated,

terpolated, and accommodated to the System of the ALCORAN *secundum Artem*.

V.

LASTLY, not only the GOSPEL OF BAR-NABAS, or any other GOSPEL (which in their language they call Al-Angil or I N G H I L) but also their PENTATEUCH (which they call AL-TAOURAT, vulgarly T E V R A T) and their PSALMS (which they call Z E B O U R) with the books ascrib'd to those other Prophets (if any such they have) are to be procur'd or purchas'd, according to the account you'll be pleas'd to send. But in this whole Enquiry beware of being impos'd upon by Christian Arabic books, such as the *Gospel of the Infancy of J E S U S*, with diverse others of the same stamp.

VI.

AS for the Mahometans themselves, who are the proper subject of our curiosity, take care to distinguish written from oral Tradition; as well as the persuasion of a particular Sect from that of the whole body, or even the notion of a private man from that of his peculiar Sect. And on these Enquiries be sure to ground your Answers so accurately, yea so minutely, as expressly to use such forms, as *In answer to the first, second, third, or fourth Queries*, or to any part or particular of each, distinctly mark'd: neither be ever tempted to affirm any thing, that may seem to favor the real or fancy'd belief or byass of the Enquirer; since Truth ought to be the sole object of our Research, and not the service of any particular Cause or Person whatsoever.

F I N I S.



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